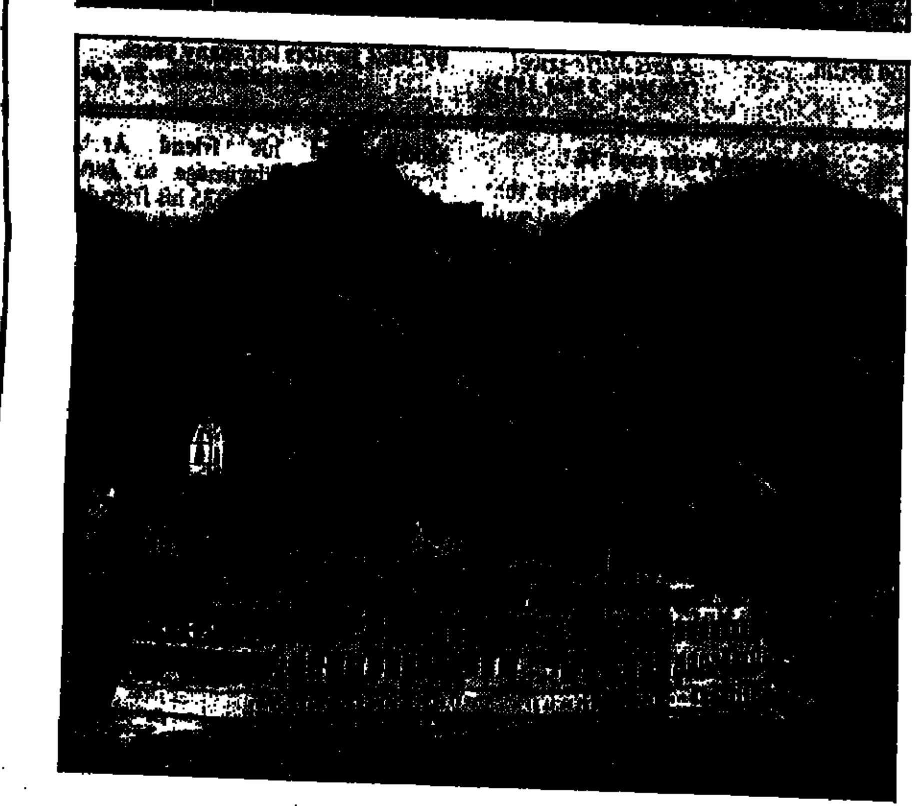








The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

Hamburg, 31 May 1973
Twelfth Year - No. 581 - By air

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Brandt and Brezhnev meet in Bonn



General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev with Chancellor Willy Brandt in Bonn on 19 May

(Photo: dpa)

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Soviet Party leader Leonid Brezhnev's Bonn visit has already so often without further comment been termed a historic event that one is loath to resort to an epithet that so steadfastly refuses to be positive or negative in nuance.

Yet a historic occasion it nonetheless is – in terms of Russo-German history to begin with. No encounter of the kind has taken place since the days of Tsar and Kaiser.

Since then the relative importance of the two in terms of power politics has swung heavily in favour of Russia (a development for which Germany has been largely to blame), yet experiences good and bad, and perhaps a secret symmetry of history, have kept the two peoples under the sway of mutual anxiety and admiration.

Many observers feel that the Brezhnev visit, coming as it does some 28 years after the end of the war, has been an unconscionable time coming, and are thus inclined to view it as an event like any other of comparable external significance.

This viewpoint bears witness to those who profess to it not only having forgotten the consequences of the war (the division of Germany and the establishment of Soviet power in Central Europe); it also overlooks the fact that this country's attempt, in conjunction with the Western allies, to undo a number of the more painful repercussions of the war has proved a failure after twenty years of effort.

Viewed in this light, the Brezhnev visit amounts to a final acknowledgment by Bonn of the status quo. Had it not been for this acknowledgment the visit would certainly not have taken place. For this reason alone the epithet historic event would appear warranted. The victor has visited the vanquished who have at long last come to their senses, but has not come in a victor's guise.

A peace treaty has yet to be concluded between the two countries, but let us assume that the visit marks the end of warfare, including cold war, betwen them. Even so, its real significance will only emerge from lie future vistas it opens up.

This, indeed, is the point at which misgivings arise, less in this country than among our neighbours. Fundamental changes in power structures may have taken place, yet for many people in both Western and Eastern Europe a Russo-German entente remains one of the most alarming prospects imaginable.

On too many occasions in the past an entente of this kind has brought about radical changes in the situation in Europe. Anxiety on this score cannot merely be dismissed as an outmoded historical response.

Konrad Adenauer, who knew his fellow-countrymen only too well, sought to forestall the temptation to come to terms with the East by firmly committing the Federal Republic to support for the West.

Now integration with the West did not reach quite the scale Adenauer had envisaged, and what is more the entire proceeding suffered from the disadvantage of assuming that the newly-established Federal Republic, an unwritten book in the annals of history, would never again be faced with the need or prospect of deciding between East and West.

For long years the East has been banished from consideration, except for superficial reasons at election time, and its restoration to the foreign policy agenda has given rise to alarm among many observers, particularly in neighbouring countries.

More than ever it is incumbent on this country's diplomacy to supply proof positive that Germany is no longer either willing or in a position to plunge Europe into adventurous policies.

Yet for this very reason Bonn must come to terms with the East as well so as to preclude the possibility of either mistakes or misunderstandings.

Willy Brandt and Leonid Brezhnev are both anything but political adventurers. The one will not demand and the other not consider a volte-face by this country. Indeed, this is not the issue at stake.

On international topics such as the European security conference and mutual balanced force reduction both sides are, mutual protestations notwithstanding, so committed to their respective bloc policies that little more than fine-sounding declarations of intent need be expected – and even if, by some chance, Willy Brandt were to overstep the mark, the West could set matters right as and when the occasion demanded.

Important though international considerations may be, the emphasis will no doubt be on the future shape of bilateral relations, insofar as Bonn is able to decide entirely on its own behalf and is not bound, say, by Common Market commitments.

The future of relations between the Federal Republic and the Soviet Union cannot be measured by the yardstick of agreements now concluded. Long-term developments and the general tenor of relations will prove of greater significance.

In this wide-ranging context the possibility of Bonn changing either the emphasis or the direction of its foreign and economic policies cannot be precluded. This applies in particular to economic and industrial cooperation.

Bonn is already talking in terms of a Soviet embrace in this connection, and there are a number of motives behind the Russian hug.

In a number of sectors the Soviet Union has technological gaps to bridge, and the Russians no doubt overestimate this country's economic and industrial possibilities. They certainly still feel that German engineering and technology are capable of working economic miracles.

The view is widespread in the Soviet Union that the vast Soviet potential, combined with German technology and organisational skills, would represent an unbeatable duo. The combination of the two would, moreover, dispel submerged anxiety regarding the unpredictable nature of the Germans.

With the offer of bilateral cooperation agreements limited not only to this country Moscow would, however, seem to have another aim in view: to undermine the European Community as a compact economic region.

Endeavours along these lines have been channelled both via the preliminary talks in Helsinki on the holding of a European security conference and via bilateral agreements with individual member-countries of the Common Market.

By means of economic cooperation agreements Moscow is, of course, trying to play one Western country off against the other. It is also trying not only to avoid recognition of the European Community but also to gain influence on it.

On the other hand, economic cooperation with the Soviet Union is, in view of future supplies of power and raw materials, both desirable and essential.

Bonn must, however, at the same time remember its own booming economy, in which the wheels would turn at an even more breakneck pace if large-scale industrial projects were to be concluded with the Soviet Union, doubtless including low-interest loans.

Despite the Four-Power Agreement West Berlin continues to represent a problem in relations between Bonn and Moscow. Mr Brezhnev has declared it to be resolved, but Herr Brandt will raise the issue again, and be it only because he is duty-bound to do so.

Neither the Four-Power Agreement itself nor a West Berlin provision in thee Moscow Treaty deals conclusively with every aspect of the status and security of West Berlin on which the Four Powers have reserved rights.

Disregarding for a moment the improvements in travel and tourist traffic, the future looks as inauspicious as it did prior to the signing of all the agreements. West Berlin will repeatedly and in almost every case remain a bone of contention.

It will, on the other hand, remain a test of the earnest of Soviet declarations that a new leaf in Russo-German relations is to be turned over.

Josef Riedmiller

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 19 May 1973)

IN THIS ISSUE

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

No-nonsense Nixon on Nato nuclear strategy

KielerNachrichten

President Nixon's foreign policy message to Congress will long echo in European ears. Talking in terms of a reorganisation of the alliance with Western Europe it adduces as evidence of the necessity the fact that Western Europe is increasingly gaining in economic and political self-confidence.

The dramatic rapprochement with China and the Soviet Union signposted by President Nixon's visits to Peking and Moscow last year will likewise serve the ends of strategic reorganisation, the message concludes from an analysis of the entire international scene.

Little mention may be made of nuclear strategy, yet it remains the key to relations between America and Europe over the next few years and will dominate forthcoming discussions and diplomatic and military endeavours.

The President talked in terms of a new strategic doctrine needed to bring about a *mutual, balanced force reduction* with the communist countries of Europe.

His message remained vague and hazy in respect of tactical nuclear weapons, though, these being the medium-range missiles based in Europe and on the deployment of which the countries in question have a say.

Contrary to the original expectations of America's partners in Europe, based as they were on information received, the United States has reserved right to negotiate with the Soviet Union on these weapons, which are of crucial importance for the defence of Europe.

In connection with Chancellor Brandt's visit to Washington European military men noted that their governments must take every precaution to ensure that the superpowers do not do a deal on European security over their heads.

Fred Charles, the recently appointed US official responsible for coordinating disarmament endeavours, has stressed that the Americans are on the lookout for a new strategic doctrine designed to take the place of guaranteed mutual destruction of major towns and cities.

In his essay published in a political journal Mr Charles dealt mainly with intercontinental and long-range ballistic missiles rather than with tactical nuclear weapons.

Compared with the somewhat harsh tenor of the foreign policy message, which made no bones about America's economic requirements of Europe and Japan, the final communiqué of Willy Brandt's visit, published the day before, sounded a serene and reassuring note.

The President's message to Congress decries growing economic regionalism on Europe's part. Specifically, the United States would very much like the European Community to abandon preferential treatment of African and other countries with associate membership of the Common Market.

All visitors from Europe in recent weeks have stressed their willingness to enter into diplomatic discussion of this and other issues. Mr Brandt in particular reassured America that there are no problems within the Atlantic community that cannot be solved by means of continual and vigilant consultation.

As regards Nato's nuclear doctrine, the United States is still reconsidering its approach. The aim is greater flexibility, a slogan that has been going the Nato rounds since the Athens conference twelve years ago at which it was resolved to depart from the principle of rigid retaliation where and how Nato saw fit even in the event of a limited nuclear strike.

Marlene Manthey

(Kieler Nachrichten, 8 May 1973)

Prague and Bonn reach agreement at last

Unless the indications are deceptive the Moscow and Warsaw treaties will before long be joined by a long controversial treaty with Prague.

After years of intransigence on the 1938 Munich Agreement Czechoslovakia suddenly surprised everyone in April by declaring its readiness to come to terms.

As a result the first official talks on the conclusion of a treaty renouncing the use of force with Prague have been inaugurated.

The apparently insuperable obstacle preventing a return to normal in relations between this country and Czechoslovakia was, it will be recalled, Prague's insistence that Bonn declare the Munich Agreement to have been null and void from the moment its signatories put pen to paper.

The GDR did so without strings in March 1967 and thus accepted the consequences. This country has always strictly refused to consider the proposition, bearing in mind Sudeten Germans living here on the one hand and fundamental considerations of international law on the other.

Doubtless as a result of pressure of one kind or another brought to bear by Mr Brezhnev Czech Foreign Minister Chnoupek has come round in recent weeks to a "realistic" viewpoint.

The preamble of the new treaty is to express moral condemnation of the 1938 Munich Agreement but it is only to be declared null and void in the wake of the establishment of ties between Bonn and Prague, since 1949 that is.

Prague is to expressly declare that legal consequences to the detriment of Sudeten Germans are out of the question and both sides are to forgo compensation claims against each other.

Before the end of the month the terms of the treaty with Prague renouncing the use of force are to be drawn up. It will be signed by Willy Brandt and Gustav Husak in June.

To all intents and purposes this will bring to a close the first stage of the *Ostpolitik* pursued by the Social and Free Democratic Federal government in Bonn.

Once bitten, twice shy, the proverb goes, and it is to be hoped that the compromise formula agreed in Prague will not only prove satisfactory but also preclude from the start any possibility of differences in interpretation.

Differences of this kind have, for instance, come to the fore in the current talks between Bonn and Moscow in respect of responsibility for West Berlin.

Konradjoachim Schaub

(Neue Hannoversche, 8 May 1973)

Sir Alec in Bonn

Shortly before Mr Brezhnev's visit to Bonn British Foreign Secretary Sir Alec Douglas-Home paid his respects in the Federal capital.

Virtually no bilateral bones of contention exist between this country and Great Britain. "Relations between our two countries are excellent," Sir Alec noted before leaving London. "It is hard to think of points on which we disagree."

Even in the current cod war off the coast of Iceland British and Federal Republic trawlers are fighting the same battle and the two countries standing side by side for the first time since Waterloo.

Interest thus centres around Europe, relations between Europe and the United States and East-West ties. Sir Alec would like to learn more about Dr Kissinger's Atlantic plans and the West Germans' views on the subject.

An important item on the agenda is the Middle East. Of late London has noticeably tended more towards the Arab viewpoint. British experience in dealing with the Arab would will greatly interest this country's diplomats in their delicate endeavours to establish good relations with the Arab world without treading on Israel's toes.

Sir Alec prefers to leave monetary matters to Mr Barber, Chancellor of the Exchequer. At some stage of the proceedings the two sides will undoubtedly have mentioned the subject of butter, though.

Britain is currently subsidising sales of "cut-price" surplus Common Market butter to old-age pensioners, and this is an embarrassing business for the government, which still has anti-European sentiment among the general public to contend with.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 15 May 1973)

UNO: what membership will cost

This country, which on 11 May was given the go-ahead by the Bonn Bundestag to apply for UN membership, has long been "in" as far as the world body is concerned.

Last year alone Bonn ploughed nearly 500 million Marks into dozens of UN organisations in the form of contributions and donations,

In comparison Bonn's annual contribution towards the UN budget will at some 44 million Marks for 1974 be a mere drop in the ocean. By 1976 this sum is expected to increase to roughly 51 million Marks.

At present this country is either a member of or party to:

– four subsidiary bodies of the United Nations,
– twelve UN special programmes, aid schemes and conventions,
– eight UN special campaigns and
– twelve UN special organisations.

The subsidiary bodies are the UN Economic Commission for Europe, the Narcotics Commission, the UN Conference on Trade and Development and the UN Industrial Development Organisation. Between them they received six and a half million Marks in contributions from this country last year.

The best-known special programme or convention not forming part of the regular UN budget is Unicef, but Bonn also shells out millions to the UN Development Programme, the UN Refugee Relief Authority (which is a far less expensive proposition), the Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination of All Kinds and the World Food Programme.

Many people will recall that this country contributed towards the UN fund for rescuing and relocating Ancient Egyptian temples that would otherwise have been submerged by flooding.

Bonn's lesser-known contributions include donations towards Cyprus relief, narcotics relief, aid to refugees in Uganda and the Southern Sudan and a million and a half Marks towards the provision of clean water for Bangladesh.

Siegfried Michael

(Bremer Nachrichten, 12 May 1973)

Nato blots its MBFR copy-book

In relentless trench warfare round the MBFR conference table the West maintained its ground in theory, the ... in practice.

For 100 days of deadlock the two ... have been at loggerheads over the inclusion of Hungary in mutual balanced force reduction.

On the face of it the conflict has been resolved by East and West agreeing to refer the matter to the next round of talks in the autumn.

This, in a nutshell, is the agreement reached by delegates of nine... countries meeting in Vienna in early ... in order to break the deadlock.

In point of fact Hungary no longer counts as one of the countries directly involved. Like Norway, Denmark, ... Greece and Turkey on the one hand ... Rumania and Bulgaria on the other ... enjoys special status.

These eight countries can, as matters now stand, take the floor at any stage of the proceedings and distribute contributions in writing. They are ..., however, parties to a "possible agreement limited to Central Europe."

Such agreements as are concluded ... at present be reached solely by the eleven countries immediately concerned.

Others may join the inner ... provided they want to do so and ... eleven agree. In theory, then, anyone ... join at any time. In practice extension of the MBFR zone is subject to approval ... Moscow and Budapest.

Nato spokesman van Ufford tried ... gloss over the outcome in the interests of maintaining the North Atlantic alliance's prestige by noting that Hungary could in effect be considered a possible party to possible agreements subject to the ... negotiation position at any given time.

Hungarian delegate Ustor was obliging in his contribution to ... minutes. As outlined by the ... states in the course of consultations ... noted, Hungary could and agree ... provided the appropriate conditions ... fulfilled – meaning that Italy ... included in Central European troop ...

Since, despite deadline agreements ... since reached by Dr Kissinger, Nato ... declared the Hungarian issue to be ... inalienable "term of trade" the ... compromise now concluded some... upsets a number of Western allies.

There has been little mention in ... of the Soviet Union having made certain counter-concessions, though Moscow ... in fact quietly dropped its invitation ... all non-aligned and neutral European countries to take part in the talks – ... invitation that would have bloated ... MBFR talks beyond recognition.

Nato certainly has time to reflect on ... lack of skill so far.

Christian Schmidt-Häuer

(Die Zeit, 18 May 1973)

The German Tribune

Publisher: Friedrich Reinecke. Editor-in-Chief: Otto Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. English language sub-editor: Geoffrey Penny. Distribution Manager: Georgine von Platen. Advertising Manager: Peter Boeckmann.

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH, 23 Schöne Aussicht, Hamburg 76. Tel.: 2 28 51. Telex: 02 14733. Bonn bureau: Konrad Kadlubowski, 66 Adenauerallee, 53 Bonn. Tel.: 22 61 53. Telex: 08 86398.

Advertising rates list No. 10 – Annual subscription DM 25.

Printed by Krögers Buch- und Verlagsdruckerei, Hamburg-Blankenese. Distributed in the USA by: MASS MAILINGS, Inc. 540 West 24 Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE reprint are published in cooperation with the editorial staffs of leading newspapers of the Federal Republic of Germany. They are complete translations of the original text, in no way abridged nor editorially redrafted. THE GERMAN TRIBUNE also publishes a Quarterly Review and a Supplement, articles selected from German periodicals.

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■ POLITICS

Barzel's 7 days were a trauma for the CDU

Shortly after he issued rousing battle-cries Rainer 'Candidus Barzel gave up the ghost with a whimper. For the second time in a week Barzel has astonished friend and foe alike with a personal decision made by himself alone.

What can have been going through his mind as he first of all gave up his star role as leader of the Opposition in the Bundestag and then shortly afterwards let the key position of party Chairman slide, announcing his intention not to stand for re-election?

Outsiders can only make educated guesses at the answer to this question, and among the outsiders are the greater number of Barzel's friends in the party, the exceptions being one or two close personal confidants.

One week was all Barzel required to see that the united front of his supporters in good times had shrunk to a small and hopeless group at the critical moment.

Applause came from the wrong quarters when Barzel took up the banner to crusade against the "false guidance" of the CDU/CSU from Munich. It was a hopeless campaign. For just one moment it seemed that the cloak of brotherly love, beneath which the jostling for position and presige had reached a climax, would continue to be drawn over the party's bitter internal fight. And precisely this is a sin hat cannot be forgiven in the "union" parties.

Rainer Barzel made things too easy for his political opponents when he spoke of a political rethink and the dangers of missing the boat for developments in international politics.

He was thereby quoting passages of Herbert Wehner's last speech to the Bundestag, and in the eyes of his rivals seemed to be justifying Wehner's attitude. This would have meant that the passionate stand taken against the SPD/FDP Ostpolitik and the whole line taken by the Opposition so far had been proclaimed an error. The response from Bavaria was swift.

Thus it was obvious that a tug-of-war was going on between the two so-called sister parties, but in the same breath the worried emergency team that had held a round-table conference announced that there was no far-reaching difference of opinion on basic matters. This clever understatement was a precursor to Barzel's eclipse and came at a time when he was still announcing his determination to fight on, and confessing that he had not made things easier for himself, but harder, with his withdrawal from leadership of the parliamentary party. Obviously he wanted to be two things in one – a party leader in an opposition role, which corresponds with his political temperament.

As an experienced tactician, however, he should not have been surprised that the majority of his party feared a split. In these seven days Rainer Barzel had led them to the brink of the abyss, and when they had looked down into it they turned away from him.

Illusions may be essential if peace is to be maintained within the party, but these must be laid aside and the stark realities faced before the next general elections. Even though the CDU/CSU may not like to face the fact, it will never be the same again after "Barzel's seven days".

The Opposition parties are now heaving a sigh of relief at having got rid of this smooth professional whom they never really liked, but now who can they find who will dare to touch gloves and come out fighting with Franz Josef Strauss?

Bernd Brügge

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 17 May 1973)

Kohl to step into Barzel's shoes

Rainer Barzel has finally decided to give up. Following his resignation from the leadership of the CDU/CSU parliamentary party leadership in the Bundestag he has stated that he will not be a candidate for the party chairmanship at the elections on 12 June.

This step is consistent. He has decided to save the party conference the bother of spelling out to him that he no longer enjoys the confidence of the "union" parties.

Now it is clear that Helmut Kohl will be the next Chairman of the CDU. But this does not finally solve the problem of people and positions within the party. Nothing has really been achieved towards resolving the deep rift in the CDU/CSU. Nor can we yet be sure what concept of the CDU Helmut Kohl entertains.

Will the Christian Democrats tread the path that Rainer Barzel began to carve out for them in his last days in office? Will they recognise the realities with regard to foreign policy and take up their cudgels with the SPD/FDP coalition on the domestic political scene?

If the decision in favour of Kohl is a premature selection of the next party candidate for the Chancellery the "union" parties will not be much further forward than in election year 1972. Kohl as potential CDU Chancellor? Few people in the Opposition are encouraged by this prospect.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 17 May 1973)

CSU youngsters begin to erode Strauss' domination

The confusion of feelings and leadership crisis in the "union" parties could scarcely be more complicated after the resignation of Rainer Barzel from the parliamentary party chairmanship. But amid all the quarrelling, supposition and attempts to find a solution there is constantly a stabilising bloc to pour oil these troubled waters, the CSU with its 48 members of the Bundestag.

Unlike the CDU section of the parliamentary group the Christian Social Union generally speaks on a firm footing, usually votes as a bloc and often acts as a parliamentary party within the parliamentary party.

The feeling of solidarity with Bavarian colleagues is stronger in the CSU than the brotherliness of any of the CDU Federal state groups, or indeed of those of any party.

This stems from the fact that the CSU is not just a part of the whole, but an independent party proud of its successes, and from the Bavarian mentality. Bavarians often have a feeling that outsiders laugh at them and put them at a disadvantage. They feel they have to stick together in their own defence.

The will to pull together is strengthened by the fact that the CSU has a large supply of matters on which most or all of its members agree more or less one hundred per cent. The Federal state group is far from being a collection of teams to back up the CSU leadership under Franz Josef Strauss. Most of its members entered the Bundestag on the direct mandate of a primary vote and not via the Federal state lists.

Party central office has little or no influence on their nomination. With a few exceptions (such as the renegades from other parties, Zoglmann, Starke and Müller) the state list is the outcome of the balance within the party and not the result of pressure from above.

There was no need for the leadership to apply pressure since by and large party, state group and leadership have one single political identity. This is the case with regard to Ostpolitik, for instance. The hard line of the CSU is in marked contrast to the lack of unanimity in the CDU. It goes right down to grass roots.

But recisely in this sphere of East Bloc policy it is clear how far the party is the party of Franz Josef Strauss and looks like remaining such. He formulates the principles – the highest duty of the rest is to carry them through. As party leader Strauss is so powerful and his lieutenants so mediocre that even those who are highly critical of Strauss vote for him again, and again. They excuse this by saying that without him they would be nothing.

Observers of the CSU note that the party works on the assumption that Strauss and his aides will put all in order. This creates apathy in the lower ranks, with energy being stored up for debates on personnel.

Strauss and head office have either stood by passively as the situation arose or they have surreptitiously taken steps to stifle party democracy from below.

The attitude of the party journal *Bayernkurier* is indicative. It is a mouthpiece and instrument of indoctrination for a specific group centred around Strauss. It is not a party forum. Demands are often made that this weekly publication should be reformed, but with no hope of success.

If the formation of policy within the CSU is ever not centred round Strauss it is carried out among small cliques, but is never the concern of grass roots. The party leadership has been activated even more by the last election.

Those who would disturb the peace of discussions behind closed doors are faced with suspicion, antipathy and aggressiveness. Just before the last general election there were several reports of intimidation within the party by those affected.

One victim of the mistrust that attempts at reform arouse is Franz Heubl, the Minister for National Affairs and deputy chairman of the CSU. He is one of conservative but open-minded Bavarians who are accepted beyond the state border. When he announced that he wanted to work towards modernisation of the party Strauss quickly put a stop to his game! Today Heubl has no major enemies, but in the three years since he was elected Strauss' deputy he has changed nothing in the CSU.

Anyway, in recent times there have been signs that a new pluralism could be coming to the CSU. Younger members of the party in particular believe that the time has come to lift the lid on the party.

In fact there are more reforming zealots in the CSU than there appear to be on the outside. The workers' groups in the party are preparing their own initiatives that veer widely from the party line. The Bavarian *Junge Union* is believed to contain committee centred around Jürgen Echternach. The Munich district association is working cautiously, but consistently, towards new statements of policy.

An encouraging sign that the situation could be changing came a few months ago when grass roots successfully overrode Strauss' plan to divorce the CSU from the Christian Democrats.

Rudolf Großkopff

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 15 May 1973)

Karl Carstens – the new CDU/CSU Opposition leader

Whenever Karl Carstens, 58, manages to slip away from his work for a couple of days one can be sure that he will be found on a sailboat somewhere on the Baltic. Carstens, who became Chairman of the CDU/CSU group in the Bundestag on 17 May, is a man from the cool north. He loves the sea.

Perhaps it is because the simplicity and elementary clarity of the Baltic corresponds with Carstens' own nature. His linear thinking and the sobriety of his speaking are ascribed to the fact that he is a lawyer, an outstanding lawyer. But in a way he has been a man of the law since his childhood. He cannot tolerate anything that is in a confused state, and his great talent is to make other people understand his point of view with simple words that anyone could comprehend.

It is these qualities that have assured Karl Carstens a meteoric rise in the world of politics, the like of which the Bundestag has not seen since it was formed. For years he served the government in the highest position in the civil service, as State secretary. Then last summer he decided to enter polites. All his friends warned him that the road ahead would be uphill. With two major speeches in the Bundestag that demanded respect even from his political opponents, however, he elevated himself into the top flight of politicians.

This is all the more surprising, since Carstens lacks much of that which goes to make the typical politician. He knows nothing of rhetorical excesses and tactical finesse. He is neither a demagogue nor an intriguer. And no one has ever been able to throw mud at him and make it stick.

For precisely this reason he will be a tougher opponent for the government than many other Opposition spokesmen. His natural manner makes him more convincing than other senior politicians.

All these were good reasons for the CDU/CSU to elect Carstens as head of their parliamentary party. But in addition there was his political attitude in his long years as State secretary to the Foreign Office, Defence Ministry and, for a short time, Chancellor's Office.



(Photo: Sven Simon)

At the bottom of his heart Carstens is a conservative with the strongest principles. For many years he worked with Gerhard Schröder who once wrote of "die heile Welt" (literally, healthy world) on a book – this is the kind of world for which the new Opposition leader is striving.

His decision to enter the Bundestag was largely to do with Ostpolitik. He considers much of the SPD/FDP East Bloc policy misguided and damaging. If the parliamentary party that elected him now follows him order and clarity will return to the CDU/CSU's policies, which have been in a state of confusion for some years.

Wolfgang Wagner

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 15 May 1973)

WORLD OF WORK

Management participation controversy continues

Süddeutsche Zeitung

The demand for worker participation in decision-making has been raised for so long that observers often give up all hope of ever seeing the scheme put into practice.

Mineworkers have has an equal share in decision-making since 1951 but this is more the result of a lucky (or rather unlucky) accident. By granting mineworkers these rights, the government managed to dissuade the Allies from pursuing their dismantling policy.

Later the trade unions resorted to the weapons of political strikes in order to thwart an attempt by Ludwig Erhard, then Economic Affairs Minister, to reduce these rights of participation to the norm allowed by the industrial relations law. Since then all further attempts to extend the worker participation system have met with failure.

The new industrial relations law that took effect a year ago does not make any difference to the general situation as industrial relations and worker participation are two kettles of fish.

The industrial relations law grants workers the right of participating in specific processes within concerns. They can as a result take part in deliberations, help take decisions and gain information on how the owners plan to achieve their aims.

But the industrial relations law does not grant them any influence over the actual aims to be pursued by the company. This is part of worker participation (or, more fully, worker participation at the top levels) and has nothing to do with worker-management relations within the firm.

During their first legislative period in government the Social Democrats and Free Democrats agreed to mark time on the question of worker participation and pushed through the new industrial relations law instead.

The SPD-FDP government is now however determined to extend worker participation to cover the top decision-making apparatus. But, as the government statement of 18 January 1973 admits, the two coalition partners hold differing views on the issue.

What schemes have already been put forward and what are the possibilities of a compromise at present? Any law in this sector must make allowances for a large number of factors. First of all there is the question of how far the scheme will extend.

As the size of the concern will have to be the criterion, should the answer be based on the number of workers employed, on the turnover, on the importance of the branch as a whole or on a combination of all these factors?

Agreement must then be reached on the composition of the supervisory board – and this will form the central feature of any law. Should shareholders and workers be granted equal representation on this board or should shareholders be allowed a majority?

Should a third group be included on the board to rule out a stalemate or the possibility of one group always enjoying a majority? This could also be achieved by appointing a neutral figure to the board.

As workers will never be in the majority on the supervisory board, this extension of worker participation would represent a step from revolution to reform. It is no longer a question of replacing the dictatorship of capital by the dictatorship of the proletariat but of making due allowances for the interests of both labour and capital.

It is not surprising therefore that there have always been trade unionists who see worker participation as a treacherous deviation from the original aims of the labour movement and appeal to the unions to press home excessive wage claims.

A third factor in any law governing worker participation is the appointment of the board of directors by the supervisory committee. Is there for instance any point in appointing a workers' representative to the board as a personnel manager as happens in the mining industry?

It is always possible that a series of supplementary agreements could achieve some balance in the system. The Biedenkopf report for example proposes that whereas the supervisory board will not consist of an equal number of workers and shareholders there will be equality on subsidiary boards formed to thrash out particularly important or controversial issues.

It is obvious that the political character of any worker participation scheme will depend on the composition of the supervisory board. The supervisory board of a joint-stock company can be described as the firm's parliament. Outside the mining industry, two thirds of the board have been shareholders and one third workers who represent their side's interests while at the same time taking consideration of the firm as a whole.

One of its duties is to appoint and control the board of directors – the "government" of the firm. It is therefore the majorities on the supervisory board that count.

The composition of the supervisory board has also become a question of prestige and a measure of political success. That is why the other aspects are not to be considered in this context although a "restricted" agreement in this sphere could be offset by more generous solutions in other sectors.

Seen in this light, all schemes rejecting equality between the two main groups in principle – and without including the provision contained in the Riemer plan for a third group with whom the worker representatives could combine to prevent a shareholder majority – are little different from the share laws contained in the 1952 industrial relations law.

Little to choose?

Various sections of the 1952 law are still in force despite the entry of the 1972 industrial relations law into the statute book. One of these provisions states that one third of the supervisory board is to consist of worker representatives.

But there is not much to choose between the two to one ratio envisaged by the 1952 law and the seven to five ratio put forward by the Christian Democrats despite the controversy surrounding it in the CDU's own welfare committees. The workers would be outvoted every time.

As important as the composition of the supervisory board is, it would be wrong to look at it too abstractly. Important questions of power are also decided by the procedure adopted for the elections to the supervisory board.

This is made particularly clear by the Trades Union Confederation's plans for a law specifying an equal number of shareholders and worker representatives plus a neutral member.

WORKER PARTICIPATION
board membership proposals

CAPITAL — LABOUR

so far: (12-member board based on current Works Councils Act) — Shareholders elect two thirds — Staff elect one third

SPD proposal: (11-member board already exists in coal and steel) — Shareholders elect one half — Both sides co-opt a neutral member — Staff and unions elect other half

FDP proposal: (on basis of 12-member board) — Shareholders elect one half — Salaried staffs elect two members — Other staff elect four members

One of the five members on each side, described as the "further member", must not be connected with the trade unions on the one hand or the manufacturers and employer organisations on the other.

Under these plans the Trades Union Confederation (DGB) claims the right to nominate two of the members on the worker side plus the "further member". The DGB also demands the right to veto the appointment of the other two members to be elected by the workers.

As the workers themselves might vote for a trade union official who has nothing at all to do with their firm, the DGB's plans could result in the workers' group on the supervisory board becoming an almost exclusively trade union group.

Seen in this light, claims that worker participation leads to nothing more than a gigantic increase in trade union power have some foundation, even when the DGB's demands are ignored for tactical reasons.

But Rüdiger Altmann recently asked whether the trade unions would really be content with such an increase in their power, always providing they achieved it, and pointed out that any position of power provokes criticism and the desire to attack and overthrow it.

But the DGB's plans evidently have no chance of success at the moment, both as far as the composition of the supervisory board and the trade union's extensive influence on the election of worker representatives are concerned.

What would therefore prove a good compromise between the demands of the SPD, which are also based on equal representation, and the Riemer scheme passed by the Free Democrats at their party conference in Freiburg, though with only one vote more than the Maihofer scheme?

The FDP's Riemer scheme is based on a 6:2:4 split. In other words, the supervisory board would consist of six management representatives and four workers. The other two representatives would be elected by the senior staff so that the factor of disposition would feature alongside labour and capital.

The passage of the government statement of 18 January 1973 dealing with worker participation was left vague so that both SPD and FDP leaders would have enough room for manoeuvre on this issue.

But Chancellor Brandt stated categorically: "We are already basing our views on the principle of equal entitlement and equal weight of workers and shareholders."

This statement can be taken as an indication that the FDP would be willing to compromise with the SPD on the question of equal representation and abandon its Riemer plan in favour of the Maihofer scheme under which labour and capital are equally represented (alongside two members of senior staff).

Both questions of principle and aspects of function are brought forward to support the inclusion of members of the executive on supervisory boards.

The confrontation between capital and labour has long departed from the traditional course and management has come in between. This third factor could end any stalemate between the two numerically equal partners.

Under the Riemer plan too the workers could link up with the executives in certain occasions to prevent the shareholders gaining a majority. But they could never obtain their own majority.

Before touching upon the problem connected with this third factor, it is important to clear up a misunderstanding which always arises when executives are described as management.

The term management in this case does not cover a concern's legal representatives. It is not members of the board of directors therefore who will become members of the supervisory board.

This would occur only under the scheme put forward by Hans Katzer, head of the CDU's welfare committees. This scheme, which is very similar to Professor Maihofer's as far as the composition of the board is concerned, would however entail an amendment to the current company laws.

As long as the supervisory board appoints and controls the board of directors, the members of the board of directors cannot be entitled to sit on the supervisory board, as they would under Hans Katzer's plans.

An amendment to this effect is not to be expected however, especially as other countries are tending more and more to adopt the main features of this country's welfare laws. Perhaps this is why Franz Josef Strauss finds it so easy at present to sympathise, at least verbally, with Katzer's ideas.

The main problem in including executives on supervisory boards is the question of how they are to be clearly differentiated from other workers. The same problem was raised by the new industrial relations law.

Are executives really any different from other workers? Even Hans Katzer denies this. But if the DGB insists that they are workers (especially as it has any special group it cannot control), it should prefer the Maihofer scheme to the plans for equal representation. This would then be six workers on the supervisory board (including two executives) compared with four shareholders.

A compromise between equal representation, supplemented by a neutral member, and the demand for executives to be represented could be reached on the question of voting procedure.

The four representatives of labour and the four of capital could jointly elect the executives or they could each appoint an

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MODERN LIVING

City councils compare notes in Dortmund

The five hundred delegates to the Cities Congress in Dortmund on 2 May unanimously approved a "general document" containing the demand that municipalities should receive eighteen per cent of the money raised through income tax instead of the present fourteen per cent. Other demands raised included the reform of the land laws, a further development of the planning laws, the creation of a comprehensive programme to integrate foreign workers and the establishment of environmental protection legislation embodying the principle that those guilty of pollution should meet the costs otherwise burdening the cities. Hans-Jochen Vogel, Minister of Town and Country Planning, told delegates there was now general recognition that cities alone could not halt the current disastrous trends. Vogel aims at achieving a human city which is primarily a place of peace and contentment instead of a gigantic production machine.

Young people in Hamburg, Hanover and Frankfurt have occupied empty houses before they could be demolished and replaced by more profitable blocks of flats. Public campaigns have been held in many cities in the Federal Republic to protest against industrial estates, city motorways and the destruction of old town centres and to call for more green spaces, trees, peace and quiet and homes fit for human beings.

Violent demonstrations took place in Hanover and the Ruhr a few years ago calling for the introduction of free public transport. Social Democrats in Hamburg are now planning to increase fares by ten per cent. Most large cities are in a state of ferment.

When the Cities Congress met in Munich two years ago Hans-Jochen Vogel, then the city's mayor, summed up the public's mood when he made the appeal "Save Our Cities Now".

But save them from what and for what? The whole subject was broad and imprecise enough to rouse interest in the disastrous position our cities were in. But this interest soon died down.

The Cities Congress recently met in Dortmund in order to pursue ways of achieving a more humane style of city life. Optimists were led by this declared aim to believe there had been a change of heart.

Economic principles have always dominated town planning up to now. Cities pursued the inhuman aim of forcing as many people as possible into a well-functioning tax-paying organism at the minimum of cost. Opinions now differ on what form a city fit for human beings should take.

At present only one thing is certain – the cities are continuing to grow and so are the problems they face. Fifty per cent of the population were townsdwellers as long ago as 1967. By 1985 this figure will have risen to 75 per cent.

If the trend of the past ten years continues the towns will increase at different rates. The population of the Federal Republic increased by 7.8 per cent from 56.94 to 61.37 million between 1962 and 1972.

The cities – those communities with more than one hundred thousand inhabitants – grew by 5.3 per cent while towns under twenty thousand lost 1.4 per cent of their population.

The largest growth rate was registered in towns of between twenty and fifty thousand inhabitants – 2.46 million or 43.9 per cent – closely followed by the larger towns (fifty to one hundred thousand) which increased by 1.35 million or 36.9 per cent.

Our towns and cities are faced by five major problems – an insufficient budget, unrestricted private transport, land speculation, the excessive growth of administration and planning mistakes.

• Two years ago the towns and cities were threatened by bankruptcy. The financial reform brought the towns an extra 2.4 milliard Marks in 1970 but rising personnel costs (an increase of 1.7 milliards) and building costs (an extra 2.6 milliards) have caused fresh problems.

The position today has deteriorated rather than improved. If towns were run along the same lines as private companies scores of them would have been forced to go into bankruptcy a long time ago.

The towns tripled their debts between 1961 and 1971. At the end of 1972 they paid interest and debts totalling more then 62 milliards, almost two thirds of all their public spending.

By the end of last year cities with their own urban districts had amassed liabilities of 1,498 Marks per capita. Over thirty per cent of the taxes received by the towns are budgeted to cover debts from the outset. Because of surplus debts over seventy per cent now has to be spent on interest and repayments.

As a result the towns are having to restrict themselves to vital expenditure in 1973. The growth rate of their budgets will increase by only 6.7 per cent, compared with 12.8 per cent during the current financial year.

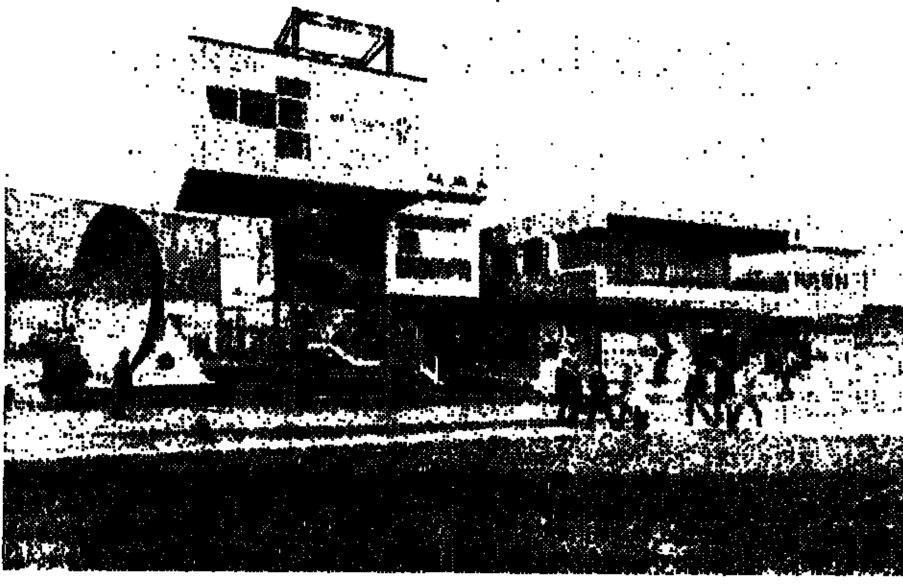
The towns themselves can raise some 2.6 milliard Marks to cover expenditure. Together with the money received from the central government and Federal states and the increased income from petroleum tax, they have 6.7 milliard Marks available for public works.

But four fifths of this figure has to be spent on projects that have already commenced. And the towns are having to pay a high price even for this minimal programme – their indebtedness is increasing by 12.6 per cent or some 4.5 milliard Marks compared with the year before.

Merely increasing the taxes and charges raised by the towns will not end this state of imbalance. The financial reform is incomplete. The towns' share of the income tax raised must be increased from fourteen to eighteen per cent, their 35-per-cent share of the income from value added tax must probably be increased as well and the whole intake from taxes must be redistributed in such a way that the towns receive some fifteen per cent.

• The traffic problem is in equally urgent need of solution. Last year the Cities Congress wished to spend the lion's share of its outgoings (146.3 milliard Marks) on transport, particularly road-building.

This decision must be revised if towns are not to be suffocated by the flood of motor cars. Motor vehicle registrations in the first quarter of 1973 were 676,724 up on the first three months of 1972, an increase of 8.3 per cent.



Metastadt is the name given to a sophisticated system of prefabricated housing construction unveiled by Thyssen at this year's Hanover Fair (Photo: Thyssen)

There is no longer enough money to make towns suitable for motor vehicles. Packed streets and parking lots have destroyed city centres. The only long-term solution to the problem of rush hour traffic is the encouragement and expansion of public transport.

But this local public transport system is still in its infancy in most towns. The central government, Federal states and the towns themselves will have to spend a good deal of money if motorists are to be wooed away from the roads. Abolishing motor cars altogether would be going too far but some restriction on private transport is inevitable.

• The laws governing land and property will have to be reformed if the towns hope to survive. As long as priority is given to the profitability of property – and this occurs even during redevelopment programmes – the unprofitable amenities of a "human city" such as parks, playgrounds and corner pubs will automatically have to make way for office blocks, shops and apartments.

Land values rose by some 650 milliard Marks between 1950 and 1970. Some eight hundred thousand of the well over ten million property-owners were able to chalk up undeserved profits totalling more than one hundred milliard Marks.

The Social Democrats and Free Democrats making up the governing coalition are bound to argue about the way to skim off the excess profits made on the growth in land values.

But they agree on the principle that this must be done. Both admit that previous policy has led to a dead end. Too little attention has been paid to council house construction.

Construction is proceeding at breathtaking speed. A new home is ready every 45 seconds. Almost 660,000 were built last year, over twelve million over the past quarter of a century.

But a monthly rent of between eight and fourteen Marks a square metre has to be paid to live in these houses and flats, a figure that is far too high for the man on the street. The proportion of council housing has now dropped to beneath thirty per cent – and there is still a shortage of eight hundred thousand homes.

• The central government, Federal states and the towns themselves will have to find some way of putting a brake on the alarming increases in personnel costs. The taxes transferred to the towns have increased by an average 7.5 per cent since 1961 while personnel costs have gone up by 10.3 per cent.

Administrative personnel rose in the cities by 6.6 per cent between 1963 and 1969 – an increase that is greater than the growth in population. Personnel costs today account for an inexcusably high proportion of city budgets – anything up to ninety per cent.

Many new posts became necessary as a result of the reduction in working hours, many because of the greater services offered by the towns. In the cities for example the number of posts in the health sector rose by fifteen per cent and those in the field of culture increased by 10.8 per cent compared with the 8.5 per cent growth rate in public administration.

But the towns must cut down on the amount of personnel. The possibilities offered by the rationalisation of administration have not been fully exhausted. Administrative reform must go hand in hand with financial reform.

As far as planning is concerned, the towns must learn to consider what is happening outside their boundaries. As long as towns depend on the taxes paid by their tradesmen and industrialists they cannot by blamed for wanting companies to settle within their walls or for granting these concerns concessions and obeying their wishes.

In order to avoid the excesses promoted by this system of competition, the autonomy of the towns should be limited and larger regional planning units established. These units should also be in a position to administer local finance so that their work is not taken up exclusively by planning.

Administration must also change its views on another point. The process of growing administrative autonomy is still continuing. The administrators' own technocratic ideals are given planning priority and the wishes of the public ignored.

City councils are in no position to form the necessary political balance. Frankfurt city council dealt with 2,500 motions in the past eighteen months, demonstrating that the ideas of administration predominated.

The legislature must bow to the demands for a greater public share in decision-making. This could be written into a couple of laws now coming up for amendment. Local politicians will find they have a tougher time when public demands grow.

Horst Bieber

(Die Zeit, 4 May 1973)

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executive of their own, though the latter solution would be little more than a version of equal representation.

But in both cases the Free Democrats would get into trouble with the people they claim to represent for reasons of political tactics – in neither case would the executives be allowed to elect their own representatives.

Problems are also involved in the direct election of these representatives from executive ranks. If the executives really do act according to the special trust placed in them by their employer, it is hard to see them, at least as far as election procedure is concerned, as an entity that will take up their position alongside and against capital.

Only one thing is certain at present: the government is determined to press on with worker participation. Any forecasts on the form worker participation will take are all speculation.

Robert Leicht

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 30 April 1973)

■ THE ECONOMY

Anti-inflationary measures depend on cooperation

Today's price spiral is the burden we have to bear for the sins of omission in economic and industrial policies in the past. First of all the overheating of the economy that led to the 1969/70 boom was not checked in time, and following this boom too little was done to create a more stable situation for fear of a recessionary trend.

Thus when the economy began the upward climb again it started from an already dangerous level of inflation. Hope sprang eternal at the beginning of this year when wage-scale negotiations for the more than four million employees in the metal-working industries ended with a relatively moderate 8.5 per cent hike.

But even then the chances that presented themselves were tossed away. Now, in order to prevent further depreciation of the Mark and a potential percentage rate of inflation reaching into two figures, it is essential to pay the price of a rigorous anti-inflationary policy.

Companies are being made to pay three times. They must pay an eleven per cent tax on capital investment goods required for expansion, modernisation or replacement; tax benefits on depreciation of machinery and other capital investments have been reduced or completely abolished and taxation on company profits is going up by ten per cent.

When the high interest rates demanded today for loans are taken into account companies are justified in regarding *themselves as the whipping boys for* government stabilisation measures. But the three-or four-fold burdens they have to pay are part and parcel of the present economic situation.

Experience has shown that at the beginning of an economic upward climb company investments in particular tend to soar. The tendency towards investment is being felt again at present. Investments are to a certain extent *the* determining factor in the state of the economy and if a renewed overheating is to be avoided it is essential to dampen company investment demands.

This is all the more essential since the expansion of production capacity leads to doubled demands for labour which is already at a premium at present, firstly for the production of required capital investment goods and secondly for manning the newly created jobs that arise as a result of expansion.

Among the main victims of this state of affairs are those people who earn more than 24,000 Marks p.a. (48,000 for married couples) and who now face an additional tax burden of ten per cent. Companies are in a better position than these private persons since they can attempt to pass on the new tax burdens in the form of price increases, which is of course contrary to the whole point of Bonn's measures.

Many companies avoided the full force of the latest anti-inflationary measures by ordering machinery and supplies before the new measures were announced. The best the general public could manage was to stock up with spirits and tobaccos before the tax on them was increased.

A question that remains unanswered is how far the increase in consumer prices can be checked by the limitation of purchasing power by fiscal means. Will the majority of private income earners really eat less beef, fruit and vegetables in order to avoid the particularly heavy price rises in this sphere? Or will they decide to save less? Will the effects on purchasing power really be that noticeable considering how many wage and salary earners are on this occasion unaffected.

Much criticism has been heard of the

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7.5% price increase

Wiesbaden's Federal Statistics Office recently published figures confirming the government's calculation that the rate of price increases this April over that of the corresponding month last year was 7.5 per cent.

The Office says that the price index for private households was 0.8 per cent up on last month to a level of 146.3 (taking 1962 as 100). In the two previous months prices had gone up by 6.9 and 6.8 per cent on the previous year. Excluding foodstuffs that are particularly affected by the seasons and weather conditions, coal and oil the statisticians calculated that the rate of price increases was 6.7 per cent.

Pensioners and recipients of social welfare are as usual most badly hit by inflation. Their cost of living rose by 1.1 per cent compared with March and the annual increase totalled 8.7 per cent.

In a four-strong family where the father is on a moderate income prices affecting the family have gone up 7.9 per cent. The four-strong family of a senior civil servant with a high income is facing price rises of 6.8 per cent, and the cost of keeping a child in simple necessities has risen by 9.7 per cent.

Major price increases were noted by the Statistics Office as compared with March in fresh meat (up 0.9 per cent), eggs (6.3 per cent), potatoes (14.1 per cent), fresh vegetables (16.1 per cent) as well as fruits excluding citrus fruits (up 4.6 per cent).

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 11 May 1973)

ECONOMIC STABILITY STILL ELUSIVE
The five major research institutes' percentage increase forecasts for 1973

	1970	1971	1972	1973
Gross incomes of wage- and salary-earners	17.7	13.3	9.7	13.5
Retail prices	3.5	5.2	5.8	6.5
Gross unearned income	9.7	3.7	7.1	12.5
GNP in real terms	5.8	2.7	2.9	6

Five Wise Men suggest economic alternatives

The committee of experts on economic development known as the Five Wise Men has produced a special report on stabilisation containing vigorous criticism of the government's economic policies and proposing two alternatives for gradual restoration of stability.

As the first prerequisite for the success of any anti-inflationary policy the Five Wise Men say the public must be convinced of the government's earnestness in trying to halt inflation. The report does, however, state realistically that there is little chance of achieving impressive successes this year.

"A big step in the right direction would have been achieved, however, if the government succeeded in checking the rate of price increases throughout the rest of this year so that 1974 commenced with expectations of a decline in the depreciation in the value of money rather than a further increase," the report states.

The Five Wise Men insist that increased tax revenue must be put on ice and Bonn, the Federal states and local governments must agree to cut back the amount of their new indebtedness.

The tax on petrol and oil is welcomed by the committee as contributing towards consolidation of government finances and the Five Wise Men also express their approval of the government's imposition of a stabilisation surcharge on income tax to cut private consumer demand.

But the Five Wise Men consider all these steps insufficient and make the following alternative proposals:

1. Levying of a general ten per cent surcharge on income taxes and corporation tax as well as the abolition of degressive depreciation on capital investment goods.

2. Lowering of the income level at which the stabilisation surcharge comes [illegible] force, levying of an investment tax of [illegible] per cent of the sum invested and abolition of degressive depreciation.

The committee approves the government's decision to abolish degressive depreciation on buildings so as to damp down the boom in the building trade as well as the limitation or abolition of increased potential for depreciation on detached and semi-detached houses and privately owned flats.

One of the two alternative packages of measures together with those measures that limit the actual expenditure of public bodies could in the opinion of the Five Wise Men make a [illegible] contribution towards checking the price spiral without seriously endangering the employment situation.

The experts' report places [illegible] emphasis on the problems of protecting our economy from outside influences.

Frankfurter Rundschau

The more finance policies suppress general demand the less necessary it will be to increase interest rates, an evil that should be avoided for domestic and international reasons. Monetary and credit policies should not be relaxed but the limited room for manoeuvre on the international plane must be recognised. The experts are opposed to [illegible] intervention to prevent a drop in the exchange rate of the dollar which seems to be on the cards.

The consequences of the Federal Republic's indulging in pioneering work of an anti-inflationary nature within the floating bloc are less simple to predict. At the lower end of the joint exchange rate bandwidth the Mark has at the moment a good deal of leeway, but this could quickly be exhausted.

"If the floating bloc is not to be disbanded immediately we would [illegible] possibly have to accept the emergence of an imbalance in foreign dealings whereby an inflationary effect from abroad would clearly affect this country's anti-inflationary methods," the report states.

As far as government spending is concerned the experts feel that there is yet no sign of the inflationary tide coming to an end. The Five Wise Men say that government spending is up by 13 per cent as opposed to the 9.7 per cent which Bonn confesses since extra-budgetary financing must be taken into account.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 May 1973)

ECE report on West and East European economies

ECE, the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, reckons that a levelling off of the rate of inflation is unlikely. In its survey of the European economy in 1972 and the prospects for this year the ECE ascertains that productivity in the industrial States of Western Europe has increased rapidly since last autumn. An average increase in productivity of 3.8 per cent was achieved last year.

In 1971 the increase had been three per cent and in the "good years" of the sixties 4.7 per cent. For 1973 the ECE predicts an increase of more than five per cent in productivity, however. This means that the productivity of most Western European industrial nations will reach its upper limits and there will be a danger of economic overheating.

The international monetary crisis, we now know, had far less of a detrimental effect on the growth of foreign trade than was predicted at the beginning of last year. First and foremost the crisis hardly had any effect on trade among Western European countries. The successes of the anti-inflationary measures adopted in Western Europe are described as very modest by the ECE.

Last year's harvest failure in the Soviet Union was an enormous economic burden for the Russians, the ECE report states. This meant that the USSR's overall productivity was way down, but the average increase in GNP in other Eastern European countries last year was 7.3 per cent.

Poland and Rumania led the way with productivity boosts of nine to ten per cent. The GDR, Czechoslovakia and Hungary only increased productivity by five to six per cent and were thus below the average.

Industrial productivity in Poland last year was up by 10.8 per cent, although only a seven-per-cent hike had been planned. This year the overall increase in productivity in the Communist Bloc is expected to be 6.3 per cent.

Apart from Hungary, which upped its retail prices by three per cent last year, the consumer goods prices fixed by the States in the Communist Bloc scarcely altered last year.

(Münchner Merkur, 24 April 1973)

■ BUSINESS

Free-fall admen come up in world

Their job involves leaping from the skies. Together with his friends Peter Böttgenbach, 28, and Bundeswehr officer Peter Haggenmiller, 34, former IOS salesman Herzog set up Ikarus Parachute Advertising Limited in Munich two years ago.

Their idea was to act as self-employed businessmen in the same way as they had previously acted for shrewd television directors. During freefall championships they took cine films of each other falling earthwards without a parachute opened.

The three men are reckoned to be experts at freefall. Herzog and Böttgenbach have always been leading lights in figure and formation flying, and Böttgenbach holds the German record for height in freefall, having leaped from 11,000 metres. The world height record, however, is 31,000 metres and is held by an American test pilot. At this height the air is so thin that the speed of all is 900 kilometres per hour. Böttgenbach only touched 400.

It is a risky profession. At normal heights of up to 4,000 metres the human body falls at a speed of something like 180 kilometres per hour. Seconds before reaching the ground the parachutist pulls the ripcord. The body is braked suddenly exposing it to the force of six times its own weight.

The parachutists have to keep their hands free to steer themselves when such force is applied and filming is exceedingly


Peter Böttgenbach and Peter Haggenmiller in action

(Photo: Peter Böttgenbach)

difficult. Böttgenbach was the first man to risk a freefall while carrying a 35 mm cine camera. As he opened his parachute the camera tore at his neck with a weight equivalent to 40 kilograms. But he held his helmet and head firmly in both hands and the bold venture succeeded.

They will make jumps for whoever is prepared to pay them. Among their exploits was distributing lots among visitors to a racing and industrial exhibition at Nürburgring, livening up an "Its a knock out" obstacle race organised by the Protestant youth movement in Bavaria with coloured smoke that poured from their boots as they leaped into the stadium and making a five-minute film for Ufa newsreel.

They have also demonstrated the manly essence of a French toilet water and poured beer on behalf of a brewery all while making a freefall.

In the skies above Strasbourg the three intrepid men have proved the staying power of a brand of toupet and at a veteran rally they landed in front of the beer tent waving flags, glasses and a torch.

They demand a high price for their freefall exploits. Single use of one of their freefall pictures costs 5,000 Marks and an advertising spot lasting 30 seconds is about 30,000 Marks. This, they say, is danger money for risking life and limb. Accidents are part and parcel of freefall, but they are mostly confined to beginners.

In the Federal Republic in 1971 there were 45,000 registered parachute jumps for sporting purposes. Six ended in death. Three victims landed in water or swamps. Another victim landed on the open parachute of another jumper, one had a badly packed parachute and failed to use his reserve chute and the sixth victim failed to pull the ripcord.

Experience and ability to control the body are the requirements for successful freefall. Haggenmiller who has made 700 jumps trains by evening runs over long distances. Herzog has been involved in Alpine racing for the past seven years and Böttgenbach goes on a 10,000-metre jogtrot twice a week as well as doing gymnastic training. Each of these two men has between 1,000 and 1,500 jumps to his credit.

Despite this they have often broken limbs and ended up in plaster. While filming in the Rhone valley Haggenmiller was caught a stone and broke his foot. His colleagues were dragged at a speed of 60 kmh over a cemetery: "We could have done ourselves a mischief on the gravestones," they said.

Böttgenbach once made a blind landing among iron railings in a scrap-yard. Another parachutist had fouled his chute and his reserve chute wrapped itself round his head and camera. He broke his coccyx and foot.

Herzog, who insists he has no death-wish and loves life too much claims that he has broken nothing that will not mend and lost nothing that cannot be replaced, except the end of his right ring finger. This he left behind along with a glove in the door of an aircraft as a leapt out. After he had landed safely the pilot brought is back to him. His worst accident was on a leap when an explosive charge went off. He said: "I had forgotten all about it. There was a massive explosion and my arm was torn open, my ear lobe was blown off and a hole was opened up in my cheek through which I could poke my tongue." But he pulled the ripcord instinctively.

Not only for health reasons but also on economic grounds body control is important. Even if a parachutist does not pull the ripcord till eight seconds before the theoretical moment of impact it takes no more than 70 seconds to fall 4,000 metres. So there is less than a minute available to set up and photograph a desired group picture.

Soon an eleven minute film "Exit at 4,000 metres" will be released. It has received a national film award worth 25,000 Marks for the producer. At the moment the three intrepid skydivers are practising for a full-length feature film about a skyjacking, a kind of freefalling James Bond rescues a security official who has been thrown out of a plane by the pirates. He leaps out after the intended victim and manages to grab him shortly before impact.

Kai Krüger

(Die Zeit, 4 May 1973)

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fact that the third group of those affected, namely government offices, have got off too lightly. This is, of course, justified when one studies the nature an scope of the savings proposals that have been put forward. These can to a large extent not be officially proscribed since our federal government system guarantees wide-ranging independence of Federal state and local governments from Bonn.

On the other hand compulsory savings in government spending can have a negative effect on many citizens inasmuch as they are "consumers" of public works. Without doubt the construction of many administrative buildings could be postponed to a time when the economy and the Mark are more stable. But many transport, education and health projects are more important for the general public than investments by private firms.

Many of those directly affected who have in the past been opposed to a wage and price freeze because this contravened the principle of free market economy would now be happier to see such a drastic measure introduced rather than the burdens they will now have too face. The objections to state interference in the free movement of prices and wages are not only matters of principle. To create stability these measures would have to be accompanied by the goodwill of both sides of industry. But precisely because there is a lack of desire to show moderation Bonn may have to choose this strong medicine — although the step may come too late.

This, like any other anti-inflation programme, only stands a chance of success if the greater number of those affected decide voluntarily not to use the loophole available to them to escape the full force of the measures.

Gerd Grope

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 11 May 1973)

Ad. film-makers meet in Hamburg

The seventh congress of advertising film-makers was held recently in Hamburg. About 500 experts from the cinema industry advertising agencies and advertising film-makers viewed and discussed about 300 advertising films made in this country and abroad.

This event was organised by the association of West German advertising film producers comprising nineteen of the most important advertising film-making companies, which enjoy about 64 per cent of the total turnover in this branch, estimated at 82 million Marks.

It is not known exactly how many companies there are supplying the market for advertising films. All we know is that 25 of the major producers supply about 80 or 90 per cent of total output. Foreign producers are reckoned to have about a twelve per cent share in this.

In this country about 2,350 TV advertisements and 180 cinema films were produced last year. The number of advertising films made has continually declined for some years. Between 1970 and 1972 the association estimates that there was a decline of more then eleven per cent, a development for which there are many explanations.

First of all there is a trend towards buying longer advertising spots on TV. According to the statistics of Bavarian TV advertising ads of 30, 40, 45 and 60 seconds in length are becoming more popular while the 15- to 20-second shorts are on a decline. ARD and ZDF are limited to about twenty minutes of advertising each day on average and so fewer separate films can be shown.

The pinch has been felt since the ban on cigarette advertising on television at the beginning of this year. But last year the tobacco companies had shown voluntary restraint and only 2.9 per cent of TV advertising was taken up by cigarette ads.

There is no likelihood of the maximum advertising time on television being increased in the near future, and as the number of cinemas in the Federal Republic is on the decline there is no opportunity for this branch of advertising to expand. Advertising film producers are also greatly worried by increasing costs in an industry where the wage bill is high. The average cost for an advertising film today is over 32,000 Marks.

Of the money spent on advertising in this country about 14.3 per cent or 840 million Marks goes on TV and cinema advertising. The gross turnover of advertising in newspapers and magazines, however, is 3,300 million Marks. This is 57 per cent of the market.

Of TV and film advertising detergents lead the way with 14,2 per cent, drinks follow with 13.7 per cent, then cosmetics 13.2 per cent and foodstuffs 11.6 per cent.

(Die Welt, 7 May 1973)

28% disinterested in shopping, survey reveals

Fifty per cent of women in this country between 14 and 49 who are reckoned by industry and commerce to be the group with the biggest purchasing potential with incomes of 212.2 milliard Marks a year are in fact not interested by shopping, according to a survey carried out among 4,000 of them.

According to this survey in which women are divided up into five different consumer categories, the largest group of 4,220,000 (28 per cent) are disinterested in spending on consumer goods. The state of the market does not interest them.

The second largest group are the conservatives, 3,420,000 women, 23 per cent of the under fifties, who according to the market researchers are typical housewives whose main concerns are their home and family.

Then there is the group of 3,030,000 women — most of them over thirty and married who say of themselves "I find it most important to buy only the best of everything". Market researchers call them active, aware and successful women. They like the comforts that technology can provide, dress elegently and use a lot of cosmetics, particularly perfume.

Only fifteen per cent of the under fifties are classed as spendthrifts and curious about everything. These 2,200,000 women are mostly aged between 14 and 24, are single and have a large budget at their disposal. They live in big cities and consider themselves young, extrovert and free from ties.

The smallest group comprises spontaneous purchasers who keep a watchful eye on prices. They make up only thirteen per cent of women under

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 10 May 1973)

■ TRANSPORT

Munich hovertrain for Toronto

Ontario has commissioned from Krauss-Maffei of Munich a pilot-project section of the firm's Transurban magnetic hovertrain system to be erected in Toronto.

This will be the first time the Munich hovertrain principle, which has no moving parts whatsoever and is environmentally exemplary, has been subjected to operational rather than experimental trials.

The Transurban's principle of magnetic "uplift" means propulsion with neither noise nor vibration nor exhaust fumes nor wear and tear nor dust – to mention only the main advantages of the new system.

The carriages, seating between six and two dozen passengers, glide along the track without touching the guiderails with the aid of magnetic fields. They no longer use wheels. The waggons do not roll, they hover.

Propulsion is provided by a linear induction electric motor also using magnetism and avoiding wear and tear to all intents and purposes.

Magnetic hovertrains form the basis of two high-speed rail systems under development in this country by Krauss-Maffei and Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm, also of Munich, with the aim of linking major cities at speeds of 300 miles an hour by the mid-eighties.

The Transurban, intended to serve local transport requirements, will not take so long to develop. Its operational speed will range between thirty and 75 miles per hour.

The Toronto Transurban will travel at an initial top speed of fifty, inaugurating in 1975 a tour of two and a half miles round the Canadian national exhibition grounds by the shores of Lake Ontario.

The circuit will boast four stops and one service point. The twin guiderails will carry 600 volts DC. Trials will commence with six cars, to be followed in the further course of 1975 by nine more.

After trials the Transurban hovertrain service will be available to the general public and to other local authorities as a pilot project for consideration.

Premier William Davis of Ontario has this to say in the hovertrain's favour: "Throughways would cost twice the price and subways three times as much."

A government commission scoured the world for new local transport systems, starting in 1971. A total of 120 projects were considered. By a process of elimination the final choice was between the Transurban and a Canadian scheme.

Rudolf Grosskopff

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 4 May 1973)



Krauss-Maffei's Transurban suburban electric rail (Photo: Krauss-Maffei)

Traffic explosion accurately forecast ten years ago

In 1951 a total of 178,330 motor vehicles were newly registered in this country. Twenty-one years later new registrations stood at 2,200,000, a more than twelvefold increase.

In 1951 all of 716,000 private cars and vans used the country's roads. By 1972 this number too had increased – to 15.2 million.

Town planners, Transport Ministry officials and environmental conservationists all claim to have been taken unawares by the avalanche of sheet metal on wheels, but were they really unaware of the potential hazards of increasing traffic congestion?

In the United States automotive society, as it is pleased to be called, began when Henry Ford set up assembly-lines in his workshops. For decades Ford's Tin Lizzie held the sales record for an individual model, being outstripped only a few years ago by the Volkswagen Beetle.

Both cars made it possible for large numbers of the general public to become car-owners. Both were thus responsible for the social significance of the new mode of transport.

This sociological significance would appear to have been recognised for what it is too late – but appearances can be, and in this case are deceptive.

As long ago as May 1959 Deutsche Shell published a report entitled *Motorisierung ohne Raum* (Motorisation Pushed For Space).

The report painted the shape of things to come in gloomy colours should roadbuilding fail to keep pace with the increasing number of vehicles on the roads.

When the report was published roughly 3,700,000 private cars and vans were registered in the files of the central Motor Vehicle Registration Office in Flensburg.

With every good reason Shell commissioned the report with a view to ascertaining future fuel requirements. That same year *Erdölnachrichten*, the petroleum journal, published additional material on the financing of roadbuilding including specific figures forecast.

The number of private cars was expected to double by 1965, increased to 9.6 million by 1970 and reach a total of eleven million by 1975.

These figures, which at the time were either noted with gratification or dismissed as wisful thinking, proved to be a little short of the mark.

By mid-1965 no fewer than 9.2 million cars were already in circulation – two million more than forecast six years previously – and the final figure of eleven million was reached by the end of 1968.

Developments proceeded at such a pace that one can only assume that civil servants had their work cut out keeping pace with day-to-day routine and filed this report away into oblivion.

The figures quoted were based on the assumption that the number of cars on the road would increase proportionately with earning-power.

The statistical equation was thus easy meat. The two fundamental criteria were the number of motor vehicles on the one hand and per capita income on the other. The two lines on the graph needed only to be projected indefinitely into the future.

The drawback, it was soon realised, was that this method of forecasting presupposed there to be no limit to the number of vehicles that could reason[ably] be accommodated on the roads.

New mathematical solutions were sought. In September 1961 Deuts[che] Shell published a fresh report predict[ing a] twofold increase in the number of pr[ivate] cars by 1975.

This time the minimum and maxi[mum] figures were 14.1 and 16.5 mi[llion] respectively. The lower figure w[as] reached at the end of 1970, the h[igher] one will probably be reached by th[e end] of this year.

It can certainly be said that the num[ber] of cars currently on the country's ro[ads] was fairly accurately forecast as long [ago] as 1961, a forecast ending with [the] prediction that a total of twenty mi[llion] motor vehicles would be reached [by] 1985.

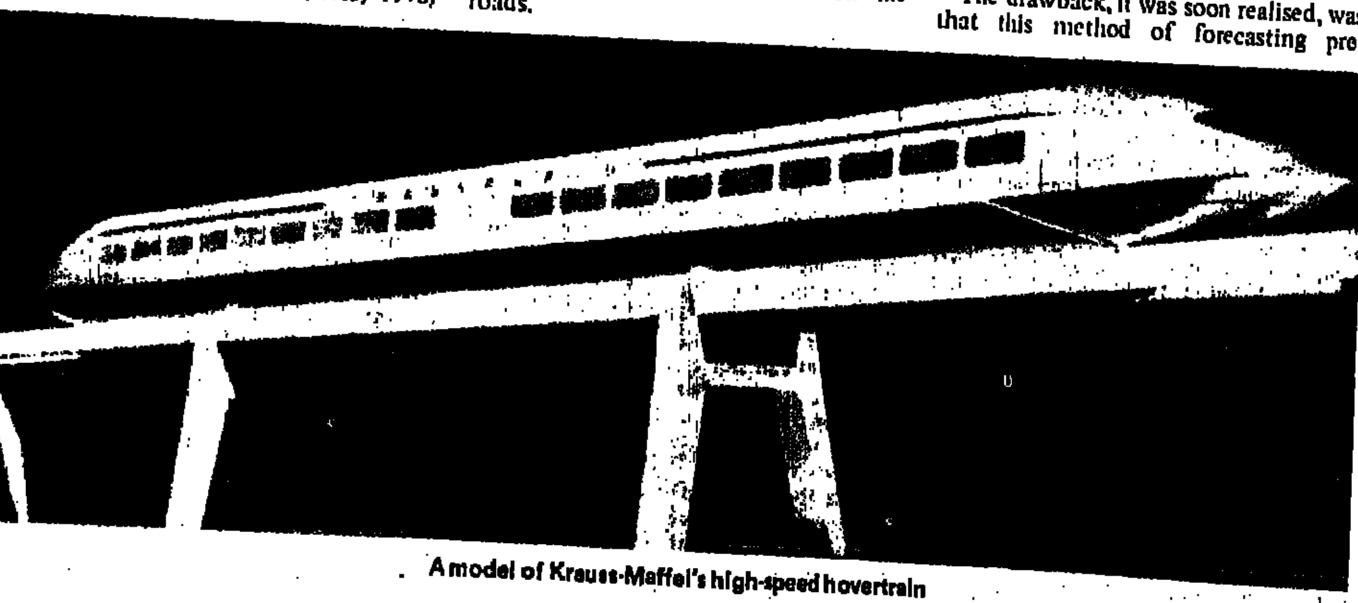
Traffic experts, town and cou[ntry] planners and local authority offi[cials] really ought to have sat up and ta[ken] notice, particularly as Shell were not [just] daydreaming. The report was com[mis]sioned to form a basis for planning b[y a] major commercial enterprise.

Whenever mention is made nowadays [of] road deaths, traffic congestion and [the] ecological repercussions of the mo[tor] vehicle it is always claimed that [the] planners were taken unawares b[y] developments.

This is evidently not true, and [the] motor industry itself would have do[ne] worse than to bear the Shell report [in] mind and draw conclusions as [to] constructive safety and clean [air] regulations before they too were "take[n] unawares."

H. Muntermann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 10 May 1973)



A model of Krauss-Maffei's high-speed hovertrain (Photo: dpa)

Nationwide disaster data scheme

This country is to take the le[ad in] Europe in establishing an e[arly] warning system for natural and man-[made] disasters. A network of 1,500 mea[sure]ment points is under construction [with] the aim of providing a steady flo[w of] information about radioactivity, s[moke] and exhaust fumes in the atmosphere [and] the water-levels of major rivers [and] barrages.

A Frankfurt telecommunications f[irm] unveiled at this year's Hanover Fa[ir a] system by means of which [the] measurement posts will be linked to central data collation points by [tele]phone.

The network is to be completed [next] year and become fully operational. [It] will serve to prevent natural [and] environmental disasters, enabling [the] alarms to be sounded in good time, [for] instance. Water pollution could also [be] kept under surveillance, a spokesman [of] the firm commented.

(Neue Hannoversche, 28 April 1973)

Deep-sea TV cable

Davy Jones's locker will soon be forced to divulge its best-kept secrets. Felten & Guilleaume of Co[logne] have developed a cable capable [of] transmitting TV pictures from depths [of] up to 20,000 feet.

Unlike conventional cables, which [are] at best two miles long, the new cable comes in one piece for anything up [to] five miles.

Because of exposure to extremely severe strain during towing the cable [can] withstand up to twenty tons.

It is complemented by specially developed devices for mechanically [and] electrically linking cable and camera.

The camera is housed in a pressure container also containing spotlights [that] is towed along together with the cable.

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 1 May 1973)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Artificial respiration saves lake from biological death

Handelsblatt
DEUTSCHE WIRTSCHAFTSZEITUNG

Treatment with a combination of artificial respiration and chemical compounds has, for the first time ever, successfully regenerated a polluted lake – Grebiner See in Eastern Holstein.

Professor Waldemar Ohle of Kiel University and the Max Planck Institute of Limnology in Plön was able to resuscitate the lake with the aid of equipment developed by Atlas Copco of Sweden.

Lakes in developed countries all over the world are suffering from similar complaints. They are pumped too full of chemical nutrients contained in effluent.

The installation of purification plant to treat effluent is intended to stop the rot, but this can only be a half-hearted measure since most purification devices are unable to chemically extract soluble mineral salts.

What is more, mineral nutrients hailing from agricultural fertilisers cannot be stopped, though effluent purification has at least slowed down the process of pollution.

The prospects of re-establishing the natural condition of lake water, which is relatively poor in nutrients, have so far been slight indeed, though.

Professor Ohle's experiment would seem to indicate that a possibility does exist, however. The lake he used as a guinea pig is only two thirds of a square mile in size and 85 feet deep at its deepest point, but its bill of health had worsened considerably in recent years.

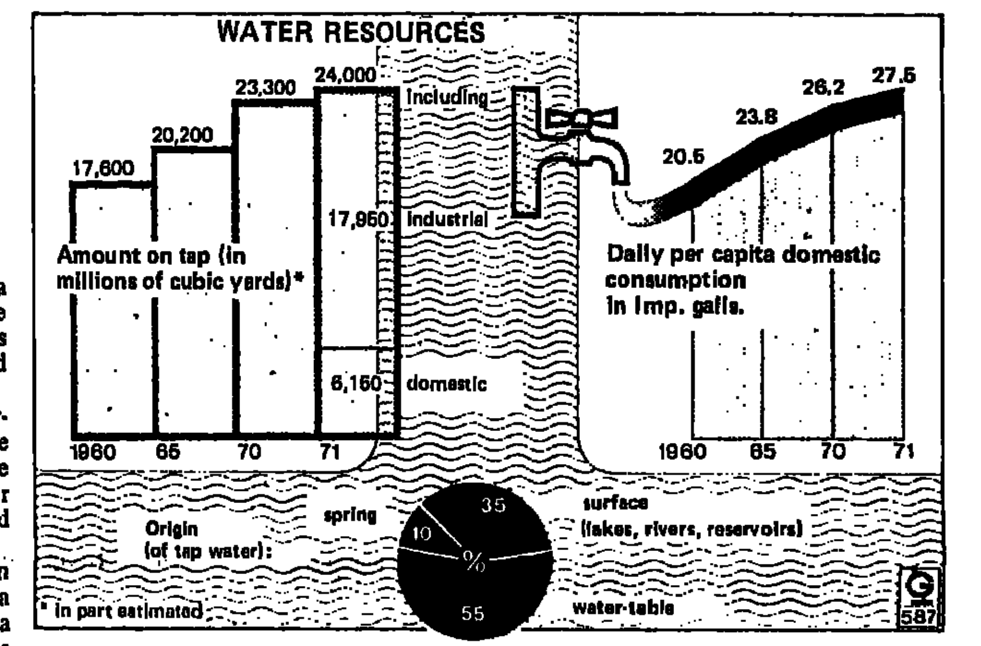
Because of overfertilisation the underwater flora and fauna had exhausted the oxygen up to within sixteen feet of the surface. In summer most of the deeper water contained no oxygen at all, and some of it bubbled with putrefaction.

Atlas Copco's Limnox respiration device was lowered into the lake at a particularly deep point. It consists of a boiler in which water at the seabed is infused with oxygen with the aid of compressed air.

The enriched water is pumped out sideways and the air that remains is pumped back to the surface, which steadily bubbles as the surplus air draws off methane and sulphuretted hydrogen from down below and releases these products of decomposition into the atmosphere.

In addition to the use of air compression plant the lake has also been treated with chemicals designed to draw off surplus nutrients from deep water and seabed sediment. The compressed air contained an admixture of bentonite clay and aluminium sulphate.

Grebiner See underwent its main course of treatment from spring 1972 until early winter. Five cubic metres of compressed air a minute were pumped into the water, the surplus bubbling its way to the surface.



Measurements were continually taken and there could be no doubt that the patient was improving. The year before deep water had contained no oxygen whatsoever. During respiration it contained up to ten grammes per cubic metre and was well-nigh saturated.

The growth of new plants declined by half. Suddenly you could see through the water, which beforehand had been rendered opaque by the enormous number of minute organisms suspended in the depths.

Whether the situation will continue to improve will be seen this summer, when the lake will have to manage without artificial respiration.

Provided the oxygen content of deep water remains encouraging and vegetation does not get out of hand the experiment can be said to have been a success.

Harald Steinert

(Handelsblatt, 25 April 1973)

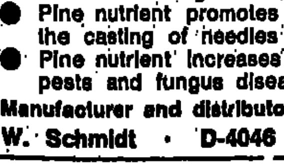
Rhine pollution rockets

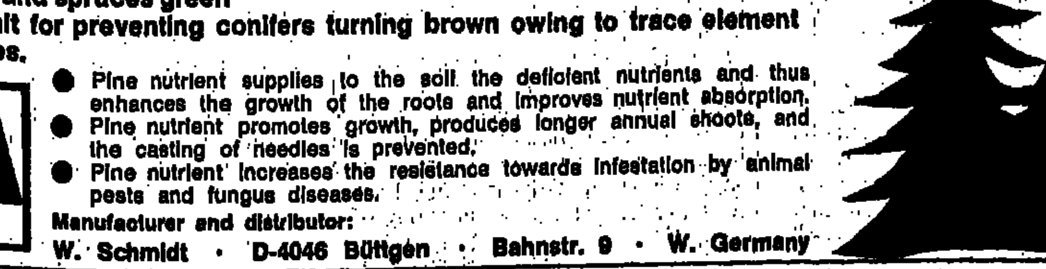
If the level of water in the Rhine remains as low as it is as present for any length of time and the hazard represented by chemical pollution continues, it will not be long before twenty million consumers will have to wave goodbye to the river as a source of drinking-water.

This alarming forecast was made at a recent conference of Rhine catchment basin waterworks held in Düsseldorf and attended by participants from this country, Holland and Switzerland by Professor Sontheimer, who holds the chair of hydrochemistry at the University of Karlsruhe.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 8 May 1973)







ROUND THE ARTS

Gruppe 61 ideas overhauled at Dortmund conference

DIE ZEIT

Almost two years to the day after the Dortmund-based *Gruppe 61* published its new programme a number of writers belonging to this literary group met to re-define the term "world of labour" and examine what was understood under "realistic writing".

The question of realism was dealt with repeatedly during the one-day conference but the variety of forms and definitions fortunately proved an obstacle to a definitive interpretation of the term. It would indeed have been rather odd had the group voted on what true realism was and then claimed it as its own.

Instead, the conference was more successful in redefining what the writers belonging to *Gruppe 61* understood under the term "world of labour", which always forms the background to their stories.

Karin Struck, whose novel *Klassenliebe* (Class Love) has achieved considerable literary acclaim this year and whose presence in Dortmund added life to the congress, dismissed the term out of hand. The fact that the congress accepted her attack indicates that a rethinking process must have occurred within the group during the past two years, leading its writers out of the restricted sphere of traditional working-class literature into the broader field of social discussion.

The trend, hinted at in the works of Wolfgang Korner, Klas Ewert Everwyn and Angelika Mechtel has continued.

Authors belonging to *Gruppe 61* no longer look upon the world of industrial labour as the only background against which they can demonstrate the problems of our society and anticipate their dangers.

These writers' formal interests have also been expanded. They are no longer completely satisfied by conventional narrative or pure reportage. Hybrid forms are creeping in, some of them extremely experimental.

Everwyn comes into this category as does Frank Göhre whose text collage *Gekündigt* (Dismissed) combines straight narrative with the authentic statements of the apprentice who has been dismissed.

Rainer Horbelt too juxtaposes narrative and documentary passage but he goes one step further. As he feels that the documentary material is too colourless he adds documents of his own.

Wolfgang Körner attempts to combine a large number of fashionable styles that have emerged since 1945. The various collages produced are meant to illustrate the different states of mind of the individual dealt with in his biography.

All this has little in common with what used to be referred to contemptuously in the early sixties as working-class literature, at least as far as form and content are concerned.

But the extreme political demands still feature. The only difference is that the members of the group no longer consider themselves hemmed in by bourgeois literature and do not need to give extreme expression to the extremism their literature represents.

Gruppe 61 has become conscious of its position especially as the earlier *Gruppe 47* has now folded and other writers appear to enjoy coming to the group's meetings in Dortmund.

The infighting within the group has also ceased since the "Literature of the Working World" group split from *Gruppe 61* three years ago to lead an independent existence.

On the whole the group has developed a new self-awareness that not even the often contradictory and at times harsh attacks by Karin Struck could shatter.

Karin Struck's own works bear the stamp of irresistible subjectivism combining naive charm and severity. Though she gave such emphatic support to a style of literature uncorrupted by the literature industry, she still has to agree to the censorship practised by her publisher.

The fact that she did not realise the incompatibility of her arguments reveals how subjective her ideas are. However, they could not be disproved by the other writers attending the congress. The most they could do was confront her with experiences of their own. The fact that Karin Struck is the daughter of a worker does not make her book *Klassenliebe*, working-class literature, whatever she may like to believe.

But the whole of the group now tend to be at a loss when confronted with the term working-class literature. The literary and political horizons of the group have become broader and the material discussed by its members more general.

The dogmatic fixation of the terms "working-class literature" and "world of labour" to refer to one class would be too shortsighted. The middle classes too have to deal with social problems similar to those of the working classes, even though the word "worker" has an exotic ring to it for many of our left wing. *Gruppe 61* does not wish to encourage them however.

Heinz Ludwig Arnold

(Die Zeit, 11 May 1973)

Shakespeare Society meets in Bochum

Every year the Shakespeare Society, one of the oldest academic associations in this part of the world, invites its fifteen hundred or so members in the Federal Republic, Austria and Switzerland to its annual general meeting.

But no more than fifty or perhaps seventy Shakespeare experts – professors and lecturers of English, theatre directors and interested laymen – attended this year's congress in Bochum town hall.

The mainly elderly gathering stood as the mayor entered, regaled in his chain of office and accompanied by the Vice-Chancellor of the university, Cardinal Frings and the head of the Shakespeare Society, Professor Rudolf Stamm of Basle.

There was a long silence before they sat and the Bochum Chamber Orchestra then struck up with William Lawes' *Consort Suite in C Major* à 5. The messages of welcome followed. The mayor spoke of "a valuable institution of cultural life" while the Cardinal wished delegates divine grace.

Professor Glynne Wickham of Bristol University then read a more than thirty-page long speech and at the end apologised for the fact that it was a little too long-winded and disconnected. In the meantime music was once again played – Matthew Locke's *Suite in D Minor*.

As in every other year the main subject was Shakespeare yesterday, today and tomorrow. Researchers picked on *King Lear* to illustrate what Shakespeare can still mean to us today.

But these experts in English literature rarely progressed beyond more or less personal views and each speaker thanked his predecessors for the subtlety of their interpretations.

This continued until theatre producer Claus Peymann commented that the discussion was no more than colossal flatulence, a clash of ideas within English studies. Peymann himself produced a much-discussed *King Lear* in Wuppertal in 1972.

While many of the specialists spoke of the majesty of Shakespeare's plays, Peymann refused to have anything to do with this cerebral view. Shakespeare was highly relevant today, he stated – he even referred to him as the incarnation of drama – but he could only prove relevant if played according to contemporary aesthetics.

The daemonic nature of the characters must be revealed and the figures must be made credible to a present-day audience. This, Peymann claimed, could only be achieved by refusing to stress fate. He reminded his audience that his production of *King Lear* in Wuppertal had been an extremely happy occasion. "People enjoy seeing through things," he commented.

Peymann's dramatic adviser Horst Laube, now at Frankfurt Theatre, explained that the Wuppertal production had attempted to re-interpret Lear's madness. "The play deals with deception, deviations from reality and situations that bring men down to the level of animals," he claimed.

"It could be thought – and Romanticism seems to make it probable – that madness breaks into apparently ordered reality like something grotesque and tears holes in it," he continued. "Closer examination of those passages where Lear becomes mad reveals that Lear's madness is anything but a psychological fad."

Peymann and Laube saw a social basis for Lear's madness, such as when he imposes a moral burden on the public position of an individual by expecting gratitude, veneration and love, even after forfeiting power.

But the system is pragmatic, relates to power and is based on the survival of the [illegible] strongest and consequently the most powerful.

"Under a human point of view this is madness, but it functions successfully under an inhuman point of view. It sweats out the person who becomes mad as a result like a plague spot.

"In the Middle Ages the insane were put on a ship that was allowed to drift out to sea and which approached the shore every high tide. Lear's position of madness arises as he adheres to values which have ceased to exist."

These ideas indicate what aspects make Shakespeare interesting today. But most members of the Shakespeare Society have no more than historical interest in Shakespeare. Apart from the provocative contributions by Peymann and Laube, the whole congress was something of a yawn.

Christian Linder

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 2 May 1973)

Unrest at Language and Literature Academy conference

"Es geht nicht mehr so weiter, wenn [...] so weiter geht," Erich Kästner [...] recited. Gustav Korlen, a Swe[dish] professor of German, used this quota[tion to] demonstrate that literature must [be] treated differently today than it [was] thirty or forty years ago.

Some of the participants at the [...] public session of this year's spr[ing] congress of the Academy of Langu[age] and Literature in Cologne seized [on] this quotation and turned it against members of the Academy, accusing [them] of adopting an old-fashioned atti[tude] about literature and of being subje[ctive] and pathetic.

But these attacks were made ou[tside] the room in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum where the meeting was held. Most of [the] few listeners attending left after [the] speeches and ten minutes of discuss[ion,] claiming that the old folk wanted to [be] left on their own. "This Academy [is a] talking shop," they commented. "A[ll] the fuss made by these old fog[ies is] simply ridiculous."

The subject of the public session [was] "Prose – or poetry?" and it was ho[ped] that the frontiers between prose [and] poetry would be found – if any s[uch] frontiers existed.

Some of the people attending cla[imed] there was no difference between po[etry] and prose and openly stated that [the] question posed was nonsensical. Th[ere] were only good and bad poems and g[ood] and bad prose works, they explained.

Lyricist Walter Helmut Fritz [of] Karlsruhe drew on his wealth [of] experience at the beginning of [the] discussion and claimed that poetic [...] are far less definite and far more [...] today than they were in bygone ages [...] traced this back to the change [in] intellectual conditions. As far as [he is] concerned, modern poetry has lost all [...] Classical hallmarks.

In the subsequent discussion m[ost] members of the Academy did not [...] what Fritz had said but talked around [the] subject. Professor Horst Rüdiger, [a] Bonn literary scientist, repeated [at] frequent intervals that he was still wa[iting] for an answer to the question "Prose – [or] poetry?" and insisted upon hearing [...]

But who was there at the meeting [who] could supply him with this answer? H[ans] Hinterhäuser, the literary historian, spo[ke] of the higher vantage point of the liter[ary] scientist and poet Karl Krolow, th[e] Academy's president, kept referring [to] "illuminating questions of relati[...]" which nobody else wanted to hear abo[ut].

This continued until writer He[...] Binek, who had remained silent [...] through the discussion, felt he had ha[d] enough, shouted that this was all old ha[t,] asked what was the point of it all and l[eft] the room. In the end it was more [like a] meeting of the older members of [the] Academy.

The Academy's spring prizes, [...] worth six thousand Marks, were awa[rded] to Hamburg writer Richard Moering and Professor Gustav Korlen of Stockholm. Eighty-year-old Moering receiv[ed the] translator's prize in recognition [of his] expert translations of English and French poetry and prose, as writer Rudolf Hangelstange put it when handing him [the] award. Gustav Korlen, 58, head [of] Stockholm Trade College, was awar[ded] the prize for German Studies Abroad [in] view of his commitment in introdu[cing] Swedish teachers to German studies.

Walter Jens stated in his laudatio [that] the two prizewinners had also disti[n]guished themselves as agents of cultur[e in] their respective countries, [...] being the authors of a large num[ber of] articles and publications.

Walter Schaumburg

(Kieler Nachrichten, 7 May 1973)

PEOPLE IN THE ARTS

Peter Handke – portrait of a dramatist

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Peter Handke lives in Kronberg, and as we walked together to the Waldcafe the view across the Taunus range was spectacular. A few children came along with us. Children are always around Peter Handke. He has set up a private kindergarten at his house, "because many other parents, like me, do not want to send our children to the Kronberg kindergarten where their proud boast is that they teach them a new song every day."

This is a way for Handke to ensure that his daughter Amina, who lives with him since the separation from his wife, will always be by his side.

Handke has lived for a year in Kronberg. He has a house on a new estate a little way outside the town. The only thing that distinguishes his house from others on the estate is a photograph on the door showing a landscape with a blockhouse and the inscription: "Directed by John Ford" in English.

The houses are flat and for the most part just white boxes; the streets are narrow and winding. Is this a good place to live, I wondered. Doesn't it tend to cramp Handke's style living on such a development?

Handke agreed that he was not too enamoured of the area, but it is close to Nature and that he takes as compensation. He thought at the beginning that he would get used to the estate, but it has come harder than he expected.

He said: "Perhaps I shall rent out the house one day when all my debts are paid and move back to Paris. Still I often enjoy living in a place that is completely strange to me and where I am really a square peg in a round hole."

The most recent thing Handke has written is a prose poem dedicated to his daughter: *Für Amina für später* (For Amina for later). In it he describes life on the estate.

Later on when it was dark outside the two of use sat in his sparsely furnished study with just thirty books. He has given away of thrown out all the rest and only kept those that have a special meaning for him. Once again he took up the subject of "awareness". He said: "When I write what I am really doing is exploiting my awareness."

Whatever impression one gains of Peter Handke the moment one has gained that impression one can be sure that he has already changed and something else applies. For most people Peter Handke is the angry young man of German literature, the man who cursed the public, who despises other writers and who has stated that the literature that is being written at present has nothing to do with him.

Handke is the man who hates histories, and who all of a sudden decided to write a story himself. *Der kurze Brief zum langen Abschied* (Short letter on a protracted farewell) is the largely autobiographical story of a man in his mid-thirties in America and *Wunschloses Unglück* the story of his mother's suicide.

For many people Handke is a man who clevery stage-manages himself, a man who has shown how to get into the literary limelight. He is a rebel with a Beatle haircut wearning the contemporary fashions for people in their twenties. Some have said that his rebellion is just a front, a distortion, and that in reality Handke is completely different. But in what way?

Handke admits that on occasions he has to force himself to do things. On such occasions he usually reads a book, since he likes the attitudes that one adopts when reading.

"You may have a glass of wine by your side and don't have to get up and move around. You can go and look out the window occasionally. And sometimes when I'm reading a really good author I have a feeling of being protected. I know that nothing can go wrong, that the author is not cheating me and that he is letting me into the secrets of a story sentence by sentence.

"Really it is a feeling of calm and approval, and of course one is leading a kind of double life. At times one feels that one is the double of a character and then one loses one's ridiculous individualism."

Sometimes when Handke walks into a room he gets the feeling that he has entered the wrong room. He looks at himself as if in a mirror. "And then I sense what a ridiculous creature I am."

All in all, he says, it is ridiculous for a person to be bothered with himself all the time. It is best when one is just perceiving, looking, seeing.

"That's when I feel most at peace with myself. I feel that I am a great burden to myself when I sense my body, feel myself sweating, feel cold, sense how dark it is. Then I feel very uncomfortable and very unpleasant. It is at moment such as this one's world always falls apart."

Statements such as this would immediately tell any psychoanalyst that the patient suffered from grave neuroses and that he made a problem out of everything. Handke does not deny that he has such neuroses.

He says that he has done a lot of thinking about the possible childhood experiences with which they could be connected.

He says that firstly it was the terrible feelings of anxiety he had as a child when his parents were not at home, and when they came back shouting and screaming at each other, hitting each other, as he cowered under the bedclothes.

"But", he said. "It is no good my believing this is a possible answer. To analyse myself, as others have done, also strikes me as stupid."

"I think that these systems of analysis are banal and attempt to reduce something to a denominator where such denominators should not be used so readily."



(Photo: Ullstein)

These ideas about the *ego* being an unpleasant excrescence immediately disappear when Peter Handke starts writing. The effort that has to be applied, Handke says, sweeps away all other considerations, and this gives him an incredible sense of contentment, with writing giving him a kind of uplift – "all these private matters dissolve in the effort of creating and formulating."

Handke says that if he does not at first achieve this transcendence he becomes very vexed and goes on and on writing until he is successful.

Writing is something that has never been self-evident for Handke, it is not something natural, not a bodily function like breathing, eating or drinking.

For Handke writing is far more something artificial, a strange attitude, almost a pose, he says. But he is quick to add: "It is by no means such an individual and eccentric job." It is, he says, a matter-of-fact, concentrated work, involving much effort.

"I have never been the sort to slave over a hot typewriter. That always struck me as ridiculous. I've always thought it ridiculous when I heard of writers who chain themselves to a typewriter all day and those who sit staring at sheets of blank paper looking for inspiration, and, having written something, edit it, cross out passages, rewrite and so on, while drinking black coffee, and then when the manuscript is finished alter it and alter it again. Writers like that ought to give up from the start because what they write is so inconsistent."

Peter Handke thinks that self-confidence is essential for a writer. He must know what he wants to write – that is perhaps the most important point. He who hesitates should give up.

Handke knows what he is after. There is something of the fanatic about him. A critic once wrote that he is infallible and this pleased him immensely. He was pleased that any person should be considered infallible. "But then I immediately got to thinking that it would be a good thing if something were fallible ... well yeah ... at any rate I no longer have any need to define myself."

A fanatic? "I reckon that even though I haven't written anything these past ten months apart from this prose poem I am still quite self-assured. I have told myself, if you start writing again you'll really produce something, and I certainly think it will be something fanatical."

By pretending in his books that he is power-crazed, fanatical and schizophrenic Handke helps his readers to overcome

Continued on page 14

Christine Brückner – an attempt to master reality

"Let's have a decent meal for once," the mother says as the father dies, the house burns to the ground and the firm is confiscated. Mothers such as this are the kind of people who fill the book by Christine Brückner.

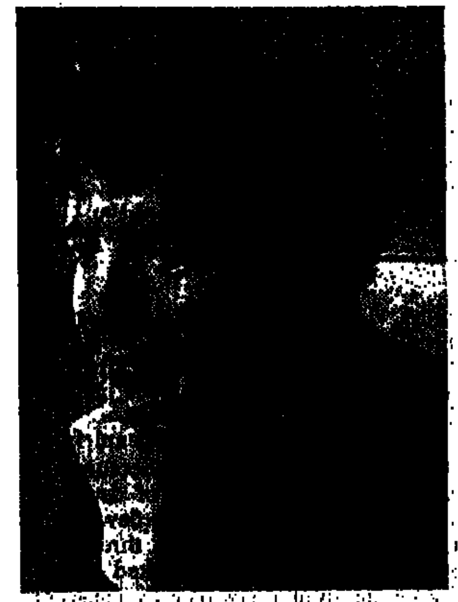
They are people who were thrown off the rails when Hitler set the points: emigrés, expellees, widows, orphans, returning soldiers. They do not complain and do not capitulate in the midst of catastrophes. They want one thing – to survive. And one other thing: they want to make the best of a bad situation.

The 21 survival stories in Christine Brückner's *Überlebensgeschichten* are authentic life-stories taking in all strata of society: industrialists and labourers, a priest and the wife of a refugee, farmers and tram conductors, a couple of hairdressers, a Jewish emigré, a Jordanian foreign worker, and the like.

Christine Brückner's portraits of them are unpretentious. She is not a literary shooting-star and has no artificial ambitions. She does not bother herself with complications of style. Her accounts are matter-of-fact, terse, cool, and often in snappy journalistic language. She avoids oozing sentimentality, but writes with a great deal of sympathy.

One thing she fails to do is make her reports more than the fate of the individual. She does not manage to make them exemplary of the generality. The histories of individuals do not broaden out to become the history of the period.

She is not sufficiently critical and does not analyse case histories deeply enough.



(Photo: Ullstein Verlag)

She places too much emphasis on the common fate under the banner: We are all brothers.

She offers her arm to the sick wife of a refugee, who has had a terrible time in a concentration camp; and to the high school boy who has a great future in front of him, but who has to go to the War and when he returns becomes a woodcutter like his father before him.

Christine Brückner likes all these people whose lives and scars she describes. She works on the principle of searching for the good points in everyone. The trouble is, she does not search for anything else.

For the first couple of life stories this is acceptable, but by halfway through the book it begins to pall. By the end one is overwhelmed by all this courage, goodwill and human spirit. Even Love is carried to excess. The book takes on the character of a Christian Sunday magazine.

Despite all the ups and downs, catastrophes and well-known blows of fate that the stories cover they are too smoothly contrived. They do not have enough sting in their tail to leave a lasting impression behind. They starve us of food for thought. These tidings of people who, in the [illegible], resolutely believe that "where there's a will, there's a way" are far too happy.

Christine Brückner, a former librarian and journalist, has been working as a freelance writer since 1945 and has already produced ten novels. Her first was a bestseller. *Ehe die Spuren verwehen* was translated into eight languages and its sales in German alone were 650,000. Christine Brückner has also written short stories, poetry, children's books, radio plays, essays and feuilletons.

Anneliese Grosskopf

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 3 May 1973)

Christine Brückner: Überlebensgeschichten. Ullstein Verlag. 208 pp. 22 Marks.

■ MEDICINE

Depression the key to many undiagnosed illnesses

Doctors claim that more and more patients whom they examine are not sick in the traditional sense of the term. Physical causes can rarely be found for their varying complaints.

But as these patients go doggedly from surgery to surgery to find out more about their complaints, it is likely that a diagnosis will be made somewhere along the line.

The subsequent treatment is incorrect and can prove painful, it was claimed at a medical discussion in Munich. The doctors attending the meeting were dealing with the question of "hidden depression", a complaint that can manifest itself in a thousand different ways.

It is not only the fault of medical diagnosis that complaints of this type often remain unrecognised. "Patients are unwilling to accept the fact that they are suffering from depression," Dr Helmut Bieber, the Munich neurologist, explains. "They prefer to be organically sick."

The most frequent symptoms are headaches and persistent insomnia. In the morning partients suffering this type of depression are irritable, tired and run down. They do not feel able to fulfil the simplest obligations.

Friends and acquantainces – and often doctors too – classify these people as over-sensitive hypochondriacs, if not as hysterical cases. The condition of these depressives deteriorates when they feel that nobody can cure them and that there is no reason for their physical complaints or lasting ill-humour. Thoughts of suicide cannot then be ruled out, Rudolf Meyendorf, head physician at Munich University Neurological Hospital, claims.

Professor Walter Walcher of Graz was able to put forward a depressing example of the way patients will go from doctor to doctor in the hope of obtaining relief from their troubles.

A 38-year-old woman sought medical treatment for her undiagnosed complaints over a period of eighteen months. Her gall bladder, uterus and appendix were removed but her condition still did not improve.

She had once been an extremely capable business woman but now gradually lost all interest in her work, withdrew from the world around her and no longer wanted love.

An operation on the abdominal wall was suggested though, as later events revealed, there was not the slightest justification for a step of this kind. The woman then went to a neurologist, the type of specialist she should have consulted in the first place, and he correctly diagnosed depression.

The correct diagnosis of the cause of her various complaints was enough to give the woman some relief. Her troubles completely disappeared after six weeks' treatment with anti-depressive drugs.

She retained her health and mental composure for the next three years before consulting her doctor again because of headaches, vortigo and restless sleep. Apart from high blood pressure, there were no organic complaints calling for treatment.

Once again anti-depressive drugs were prescribed, the woman's circulation returned to normal, her psychosomatic disorders disappeared and since then she has suffered no further complaints.

A number of causes contribute to the emergence of the hidden depression syndrome. Though patients may claim that conflicts in their everyday life are the root cause of their troubles, Professor Walcher states that they only encourage the state of depression.

Even a minor trauma can set the process of depression in motion. Head physician Rudolf Meyendorf pointed out that even children could be affected. The main symptom in cases of this type is a reluctance to learn or play. As parents do not understand this, they often react by punishing their child or withdrawing their love in some other fashion.

Anti-depressive drugs form an effective weapon against these complaints when in the hands of an experienced doctor, especially if this treatment takes place alongside a course of psychotherapy.

They can help those people who live alone, who are bereft, old or lonely by making them realise that though this life might not be the best imaginable it is the only one we have. *Ottmar Katz/PAM*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 8 May 1973)

Heart disease is a major world killer, WHO reports

Diseases of the heart and circulation are the main cause of death in more than a third of all cases, a report *compiled by the World Health Organisation* reveals.

Leading international cardiologists attending a conference sponsored by the organisation in Geneva were able to study the material and discuss a worldwide strategy for the fight against heart disease.

The survey was conducted in fifty countries and reveals that 37 per cent of all deaths are caused by diseases of the heart or circulation. In 29 industrial nations as many as 39 per cent of male deaths in the 25 to 64 age range can be attributed to this cause. Heart disease kills more people than cancer, accidents or infectious diseases.

Diseases of the heart and circulation are also said to be responsible for the decline in life expectancy among males. The specialists attending the conference therefore discussed the possibility of international cooperation in fighting these complaints. Early diagnosis and preventive treatment were recommended as suitable measures.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 3 May 1973)

Test gives babes better survival chances

Ulrich Stephan, professor of paediatrics at Erlangen University Hospital, has discovered a method of cutting down the mortality rate among new-born children with metabolic diseases to ten per cent of the present figure.

He has developed a quick test to be conducted immediately after birth. It takes no more than a minute, costs only forty pfennigs and shows whether the child has the dangerous metabolic disease mucoviscidosis.

Professor Stephan states that mucoviscidosis is the most common hereditary metabolic disease. The compulsory introduction of this test at all hospitals in the Federal Republic would trace the 350 to 700 newly-born children with the disease (some seven hundred thousand children are born every year) and increase their chances of survival.

The current preventive tests only lead to the early diagnosis of the disease in seventy cases a year. The new test strips will be on the market from 1 July onwards.

(Die Welt, 9 May 1973)

Leukaemia deaths

Four thousand West Germans die of leukaemia every year, Professor Horst Dörken of Hamburg told the Internists Congress in Wiesbaden. Leukaemia is responsible for three per cent of all cancer deaths.

Leukaemia seems to be more common in rural areas. Farmers appear to be particularly threatened by the disease. On the whole, the death rate from leukaemia is 25 per cent above average in communities of less than two thousand inhabitants.

Statistics reveal that apart from farmers – especially poultry-breeders – the highest risks are faced by petroleum workers and any person subject to high doses of radiation.

Leukaemia is a mysterious disease, Professor Dörken told the congress. It often seems to be especially common in certain places, families, streets or even houses.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 3 May 1973)

Time of day determines reaction

Recent scientific research reveal[s] the reactions of the human org[anism] depend on the time of day, Prof. Jürgen Aschoff, head of the Max P[lanck] Institute for Behavioural Physiolog[y] Erling-Andechs, told the Inter[nists] Congress held at Wiesbaden.

One example is the way the body re[acts] to alcohol depending on the state of [its] "biological clock". An experiment [was] conducted to investigate this and t[hose] taking part were asked to drink a gra[m] of alcohol for every kilogramme [of] weight and repeat the dose hourly.

When the experiment took place i[n the] evening the level of alcohol in the b[lood] did not rise. But when it took place in [the] morning the level of alcohol was m[ore than] the average.

Professor Aschoff concludes from the[se] findings that the effects of any course [of] treatment depends on the time of day [at] which it is prescribed. He therefore c[alls for] fresh research into the varying effe[cts of] drugs throughout the day.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 8 May...)

Heart attack patients fare better at home

Dr J. Pantridge of Belfast told [the] recent European Internists Con[gress] in Bad Godesberg that treating [heart] attack patients at home was more li[kely] to be successful than transporting [them] immediately to hospital. The death [rate] from heart failure in Belfast has decr[eased] from 40 to 25 per cent as a result of [the] new policy, he claimed.

When doctors travel to their pa[tients] treatment can begin in the first d[ecisive] minutes after a heart attack. This [would] avoid those cases of death occ[urring] during transportation to hospital, s[ome] ten per cent according to Dr Pantr[idge] and is also likely to be more succe[ssful a] policy than extending the heart wa[rds in] hospitals.

Professor Blörck told the co[ngress] about the rapid rise of acute m[edical] emergencies in Sweden. The numb[er of] emergency patients in his hospit[al in] Stockholm has increased fivefold in [the] past fifteen years, he stated.

Biörck claimed that the causes wer[e an] increase in the number of dis[eases] affecting the heart and circulation, [a] growing number of cases invo[lving] poisoning and the increasing loneliness [of] the elderly who are no longer nursed [at] home by relations but have to e[nter] hospital.

"As many cases as possible should [be] treated on an outpatients basi[s]," Professor Biörck commented. "The l[uxury] suite in a luxury hotel is cheaper tha[n a] hospital room." In Sweden even ... cases are discharged from hospital earl[ier] than was once the case. Compuls[ion] sometimes has to be used.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 5 May 1973)

Human cancer virus discovered

Scientists in this country belie[ve they] have found the first human [cancer] virus. Professor H. zur Hausen [of] Erlangen said at the end of the Inte[rnists] Congress in Wiesbaden that the[y had] found three of the four pieces of e[vidence] needed to prove that the Epstein[-Barr] virus produced cancer in the ly[mph] system of the human organism.

The Cologne-based Practising Do[ctors'] Association has called for the estab[lish]ment of "cancer registers" in all Fe[deral] states. All hospital doctors and ge[neral] practitioners would then be oblig[ed to] report cancer cases to the ... authority of the Federal state in q[uestion.] This ruling only applies to Hamburg [and] the Saar at present.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 4 May 1973)

Blood test reveals sex of unborn child

Professor Ekkehard Grundmann of Münster told doctors attending the recent Internists Congress in Wiesbaden that researchers in this country have developed an almost foolproof way of determining the sex of a four-month-old foetus.

Lymphocytes from the organism of the foetus reach the mother's blood stream and a blood test will then show whether the child is a boy or girl. The success rate is as high as eighty per cent and one hundred per cent certainty is theoretically possible.

Professor Grundmann stated that the lymphocytes could prove a new method of fighting cancer. It had been found, he said, that quick-growing cancer tumours were not surrounded by these defensive bodies while a large number were discovered around those tumours with a slow growth rate or those that were not growing at all. They probably attack cancer tumours as they would an alien organ after a transplant.

A number of scientists at the congress spoke of new forms of immunisation. Research is now on the way towards developing a multi-purpose vaccine to fight a number of different diseases.

Researchers are also trying to replace injections with oral vaccination or nasal sprays. They are attempting to control side-effects and increase the length of time a vaccination remains effective. An anti-caries vaccine is also under preparation, the congress was told.

Interesting news has been heard from Denmark in this connection. Lecturers at Aarhus University's faculty of dentistry have spent the last four years developing a new method of saving teeth threatened by parodentosis. Teeth attacked by the disease are given a new base by means of jaw transplants.

The Aarhus team recently announced that the first operation of this type conducted on a human being has proved successful. The patient was a musician who could not have continued his career as clarinettist with false teeth.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 3 May 1973)

■ EDUCATION

Russian school in Bochum expands

Russian songs often resound at night from a former hotel in Bochum city [cen]tre. Those singing are taking part in [be]ginner courses arranged by the North [Rh]ine-Westphalia Russian Language [Te]aching Institute, the only school of its [ty]pe in the Federal Republic.

Technicians, economists, scientists, [go]vernment or Federal state employees or anyone planning a trip to the Soviet Union and wanting to speak at least colloquial Russian and read Cyrillic script need only attend for ten days to speak simple sentences, understand them and sing short Russian songs.

The intensive language courses for beginners each last four weeks. But with six or seven hours' teaching a day they are so intensive that students must treat them as a full-time job. A number of beds have therefore been provided at the school for boarders.

The teaching staff consists of professors from the Russian Academy of Science, German experts on Slav culture and Russian teachers. They teach in colloquial Russian and use programmed and audiovisual teaching materials to drum the language and script into students.

Apart from the four-week beginner courses there are ten-day refresher courses for high-school Russian teachers and, from next autumn onwards, the first four-month language courses for beginners. The courses are not expensive – fifty Marks a month plus board.

The North Rhine-Westphalia government is spending 530,000 Marks on the school this year and hopes to provide fresh stimulus for the long-neglected study of Russian in this country and establish contacts with Russian firms on behalf of industrial concerns in the Federal state.

There is a long story behind the establishment of the school. The first attempts by politicians and academic staff in 1964 met with difficulties and it did not take form until 1968 when the Education Ministers Conference turned to the problem and Fritz Holthoff, then Education Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, offered to set up a school for Russian in the Federal state.

But the school for Russian could not start operations for another four years. Detente was in the air when Johannes Rau, North Rhine-Westphalia's current Minister of Science and Research, opened it in 1972. Rau also managed to find an expert in programmed language teaching as head of the new institute – Hellmut Keusen, Secretary-General of the Westphalia Evangelical Church, who has planned and conducted language laboratory courses in many languages for the Evangelical Study Foundation.

(Neue Ruhr Zeitung, 27 April 1973)

Education Commission sponsors experimental kindergartens

Between one hundred and one hundred and twenty kindergartens will be set up in the Federal Republic over the next five years to develop playing and teaching programmes for three to five-year-old children if the government and Federal states approve the recommendations put forward by the Education Council on 4 May 1973.

Each of these kindergartens will take up to sixty children and the staff of scientists, kindergarten attendants, educationalists and teachers will test and distribute play and teaching programmes for three to five-year-old in conjunction with their parents.

The Education Council recommonds that each kindergarten should have six kindergarten attendants, educationalists specialising in social affairs, youth leaders, educationalists and elementary school teachers along with two or three educational scientists, psychologists and sociologists.

NRZ NEUE RUHR ZEITUNG

The programme will be based on living conditions, learning ability and the needs of the children and should help improve the teaching given to three to five-year-olds and strengthen their ability to act responsibly on their own. This is particularly true for socially under-privileged children.

No concrete basis has been set for the development of the play and teaching programmes. Instead they are to develop from the close connection between theory and practice. The programme is arranged in such a way that all those taking part will be drawn into a framework of mutual learning processes.

In this way adults should be placed in the position of wanting to increase their educational abilities and gain new ideas and methods to be used in the teaching of young children.

The results of these experimental schemes will be made generally available and should be incorporated as quickly as possible into the methods used by kindergartens outside the development programme.

The Education Commission assumes that the kindergartens planned under the model programme will be built during the course of a step-by-step plan lasting until 1977. The cost of the programme up to this date will total between 118 and 154 million Marks.

(Neue Ruhr Zeitung, 4 May 1973)

Schools can be responsible for stress in children

Healthy children are often adversely affected by the schools they attend, according to a claim made by the subsection of the Federal Association for the Teaching of the Handicapped responsible for dyslexia.

Every year some one hundred thousand school beginners suffer mental damage as a result of incorrect methods used to teach children to read and write. They are often condemned to live with the consequences for the rest of their life.

The Federal Association believes that the main reasons for the alarming increase in the number of cases of dyslexia are overcrowding at primary schools and the strong emphasis placed on science in teacher training. Teachers no longer learn their trade and are completely helpless when confronted with handicapped children.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 4 May 1973)

■ HISTORY

First German empire established 1,000 years ago



Heinrich II (1002–1024)
(Photos: Fremdenverkehrsamt Bamberg)

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Charlemagne's empire, after a century of general deterioration the Carolingian ruling houses in France, Italy and Germany, had fallen apart and national feeling had been undermined and disappeared. Heinrich I of the Saxon line was elected king in 919 in Fritzlar.

He refused to be crowned and anointed by the Archbishop of Mainz and created a new centre of government which he bequeathed to his son Otto I in 936. Despite internal struggles Otto inherited a powerful organisation.

From the detailed descriptions left to us by Widukind and Otto himself of his long reign until 973 we know that the 24-year-old king was not like his father, who was an exponent of *Realpolitik* but inherited from his mother, Mathilde from Westphalia, a sense of religion and majesty.

His reign was for him something of a priestly vocation. He never wore his crown without fasting beforehand. He overcame his enemies with the sacred spear, prayed before he went into battle and believed in granting boons.

This gave him unbroken confidence in his good fortune in his battles in Germany and Italy. He felt he was like Caesar. He believed that the law was applicable to all.

His sanguine temperament created for him many opponents, even enemies. Because of his inflexibility and relentlessness he had to wage many battles that could have been avoided if he had been politically wise enough to ignore affronts to the royal power.

Nevertheless despite many setbacks he saw an increase in his royal power. After he had subjugated his adversaries he again re-established trust even when later his brother Heinrich revolted against him.

Indefatigable, brave resolution, idealism, which was often shattered by events around him, eventually brought him success. With this he enjoyed physical power and health.

Otto I was a man of considerable political elan. Year after year his reputation increased as his achievements were reconsidered. Supported by the government in the middle and lower Elbe headed by Hermann Billung, he was able to risk war internally and outside his realm. He obtained control of lapsed dukedoms by marriages negotiated with his various relations, in Lorraine, Bavaria and Swabia. In a very short space of time the whole of Germany was in the hands of the Saxon royal house. Ten years after the commencement of his reign, Otto I won Burgundy which opened the way to Italy. In the background he had the imperial crown in mind. Contrary to his father he was crowned on Charlemagne's throne in Aachen.

After the death of his wife Edith of England he married Adelheid of Burgundy, widow of Lothar I of Italy, giving him a right to the crown of Italy.

In 962, Pope John XII crowned Otto emperor. At the same time the Pope established the archbishopric of Magdeburg with a romanesque cathedral. Otto was buried there after his death on 7 May 973.

Soon after he ascended the throne and after a number of struggles against Slavic tribes on the frontiers, Otto I undertook to colonise and christianise the territories east of the Elbe and Saale as far as the Oder. For this reason Magdeburg was for him an important settlement.

Later the Hungarians invaded the south-east of his realm but they were defeated in 955 at Lechfeld near Augsburg. With this victory the March of Austria was won back for the empire. Immediately after the victory over the Hungarians Otto was known from then on as Otto the Great.



Emperor Otto I (936–973), equestrian statue in Magdeburg
(Photo: Staatsbibliothek Berlin)

Friendly relations with the Eastern Empire in Constantinople, and later the marriage of his son to the Byzantine Princess Theophano, caused his son, Otto II who reigned from 973 to 983 and his grandson Otto III (983 to 1002) to take a different course. They were more concerned with affairs to the south.

Otto II dreamed fantastic dreams. He wanted to make Rome the centre of the empire and Germany only a territory on the periphery.

A few days before Otto the Great died at Memleben on the River Unstrut, his great nephew Heinrich was born, who after many struggles, ascended the throne as successor to Otto III in 1002. He was a sensible practical man who reigned for 22 years.

He modelled himself on Otto I, continued the struggle to the East, re-established the bishoprics of Brandenburg and Havelburg, conquered Bohemia, battled for many years against the Poles and concluded the first German-Russian alliance against Poland.

His policies were based on close ties with the Church in Germany. The most important characteristics of his government were peace and the rule of law. He dominated, as the previous rulers of his line had, the Church. He named bishops and put monasteries under his personal rule.

Heinrich II was an ardent supporter of the Cluny reformation, but he always drew back from a forceful confrontation. Despite his youth and piety he pursued a sober, wise policy.

Heinrich II died aged 52 at Grona near Goslar in 1024. He was buried in the cathedral at Bamberg. He had established the bishopric there and provided funds for the building of the cathedral.

He had achieved his aim of re-establishing the Ottonian system of government all but for one point. He was unable to dominate the papacy. The Pope no longer reigned under him, but beside him.

In this way a situation was created in which the emperor would do battle with the Pope.

This reached its pinnacle under Heinrich IV and Pope Gregory VII, a struggle that rocked the western world.

Bruno Leue
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 7 May 1973)



Sarcophagus of Heinrich II and Kunigunde in Bamberg

Peter Handke

Continued from page 11

their own fears and phobias. For these are circumstances known not only to a writer. Fear? Yes, says Handke, he knows fear. He fears going on living this way, going on thinking this way, going on feeling this way.

Nevertheless he cannot see where it will end and goes on living from day to day. He is repelled by thoughts of planning for the future. When he thinks of himself at some future time "I find the idea horrible". He would rather go on surprising himself at the things he does.

He said: "There are some things that one spends a lot of time thinking about. And sometimes one goes out and does them quite on the spur of the moment. One thinks to oneself. Now, now I'm going to do it – and that is a quite marvellous moment."

"It is something I have experienced three or four times in my life, but it always has tremendous repercussions because one cannot stick to one's guns, because it is all a matter of a moment."

"For instance when you see a woman for the time and ask her if she would like to sleep with you, or when you meet a person for the first time and feel you would like to punch his face in."

"This is something that has happened to me before now. This is something that people do, but it doesn't go much further than that. Because one cannot just stand there and . . . well, you know . . . become human again. Moments of playing a role, which one has dreamt up."

And what is Handke like when he is not dreaming? "I don't know," he replies. And then he tells of one of his earliest dreams, one of the first images he had of himself. "One of the main feelings was of the fairytale figure of the author."

There is no getting away from it – Peter Handke is an invention of Peter Handke.

Christian Linder
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 5 May 1973)

SPORT

FA considers insuring World Cup spectators

Frankfurter Rundschau

Preparations for next year's World Cup are costing the DFB, the Federal Republic of Germany's Frankfurt-based Football Association, getting on for twenty million Marks.

Nearly ten per cent of this total is accounted for by insurance premiums covering the duration of the World Cup tournament.

Virtually everything is insured. The organisers are insured against ties falling foul of acts of God and, more mundanely, against accidents occurring once the fans line the stands and terraces.

The organising committee in Frankfurt has an insurance sub-committee that is determined to take out policies against somewhat unusual eventualities that insurers in this country are not prepared to cover.

One company will not insure fur coats, for instance, while another one is only prepared to do so provided another policy is taken out at the same time.

Lloyd's of London, however, are unperturbed and pleased to insure anything the DFB can think of. At a rough estimate the premiums (at least 1.5 million Marks) will cover a financial risk of well over fifty million Marks.

For the 1970 World Cup the DFB insured Franz Beckenbauer's legs to the tune of a million and a half Marks with Lloyd's. Next year his legs will probably be worth still more.

Maybe they will then outvalue the fabled legs of Marlene Dietrich, which are insured for 1,800,000 Marks.

Lloyd's have a reputation for providing insurance cover against out-of-the-ordinary risks, though. They obliged a worried father from Palermo, Sicily, for instance, who wanted to insure his daughter's maidenhead before she left to work in this country.

Lloyd's clients include well-known sports clubs and associations from all over the world, but it is only fair to add that the legendary name stands not for an individual company but for a consortium of insurers.

Should an application be made for particularly high insurance cover or cover against an out-of-the-ordinary risk a number of underwriters have to share out the risk so that a single company is not saddled with the debt should the policy have to be met.

In view of the sums of money involved this sharing of responsibility is convenient for all concerned, particularly as regards the 1974 World Cup, for the DFB has more to insure than Franz Beckenbauer's legs.

The DFB would like to feel that the fans and spectators at its World Cup ties will be cordial hosts, but at the same time it fully realises that football lets loose far more unruly emotions than, say, amateur athletics.

What is more, tens of thousands of foreign workers in this country will be at the grounds to cheer their home teams on. Let them do so, by all means, but at a zonal tie in Stuttgart a few years ago there were 20,000 Greeks among a crowd of 25,000 eager to cheer on the Greek team. They threw missiles, wielded coshes and got involved in staggering free-for-alls. There can be no denying that they and their like present a potential problem.

It is understandable enough that fans will be keener on seeing their country win the Cup than on proving good hosts. So organising committee chairman Hermann Neuberger's comments in Frankfurt are not entirely unwarranted.

"In addition to the safety precautions we already have lined up," he noted, "we are seriously thinking in terms of taking out compulsory insurance on all spectators, the premium being payable in the form of a small surcharge on the price of the ticket."

"If, contrary to expectations and despite all our safety precautions, anything were to happen we would then have done really everything that could be expected."

"What is more, we have taken out extremely high third-party policies on behalf of all our players and for the grounds themselves."

"When all is said and done we are not blessed with an Olympic Village that is relatively easy to keep an eye on. Visiting teams will be accommodated in sixteen different hotels. Fixtures will be held in nine new stadiums. Teams will travel several thousand kilometres across country for which seven different state Minsters of the Interior are responsible."

As Franz Beckenbauer jogged his way through the high-altitude atmosphere of Mexico in 1970 not only the fans wished him all the best.

His well-wishers included Lloyd's of London and Allianz, Vorsorge and Erste Allgemeine Sachversicherung of this country (Beckenbauer is an agent for the last-named).

This was the consortium that would have had to cough up the million and a half Marks payable in the event of injury to Franz's legs. The premium was 100 Marks a day.

In addition every member of this country's team was insured for 300,000 Marks, and in the event of disablement they would have been entitled to up to 100,000 Marks in compensation from the state pension scheme to which they are obliged to contribute as professional footballers under contract.

In 1970 Lloyd's also insured the reigning champions, England. For a premium of 820,000 Marks the English team was insured for a total of 27 million Marks. The underwriters must, of course, base their calculations on assuming the worst, namely the possibility of having to pay out the full 27 million Marks should the entire team be killed or invalided. This underscores the reason why one individual company cannot shoulder the risk on its own. There are always several underwriters to Lloyd's policies, and sometimes several dozen. Mind you, the players were under obligation to keep their fingernails cut short and not to drink tap-water, to mention only two of the stipulations. The DFB will be insuring this country's players for next year's World Cup competition too. Each player will be insured for little short of half a million Marks.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 9 May 1973)

Heide Orth, Katja Ebbinghaus and Helga Masthoff are all smiles after doing well at the Lawn Tennis Federation Cup in Bad Homburg
(Photo: Schirner)

Sports badges' diamond jubilee

One Adele Schlacke from Göttingen was the first women ever to win a sporting proficiency badge. That was in 1921, when qualifying times and distances were first drawn up for women.

The first badges were awarded sixty years ago, to men only. The DSB monogram lapel badge in gold, silver and bronze has long been a familiar sight for those who know what it stands for.

The idea was introduced in this country by Dr Carl Diem, who brought it back with him from the 1912 Olympics in Stockholm. In Sweden proficiency badges for a variety of sporting disciplines had been awarded to run-of-the-mill entrants since 1907.

As is customary in this part of the world some time elapsed before the idea really gained general acceptance. Inaugurated for men in May 1913, sporting proficiency badges were not awarded to women until 1921 and young people did not get a look in until 1925.

Sports badges in bronze for juniors, in silver for adults and in gold for the [illegible] were awarded to more than 323,122 competitors in Olympic year 1972.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 8 May 1973)

Women athletes gain ground

Never have there been so many women members of this country's Olympic team as at Munich last year, Dr Ingeborg Bausenwein, chairman of the women's committee of the Federal Republic Sports League, stated at a recent Hamburg conference.

Of the 451 members of the home team 87 were women – nearly twenty per cent. Four years previously, in Mexico, only twelve per cent of the team had been women.

Provided the meteoric improvement in standards of women's sports in this country continues – and the indications are that it will – the figures for Montreal in 1976 will represent a further proportional increase.

The enormous improvement in sporting standards among women in recent years has been common to all disciplines in which women are allowed to compete – and more and more disciplines are being opened up to women.

At the Paris Olympics in 1900 a mere six women competitors entered in all of two disciplines (tennis and golf). At Munich a thousand female competitors entered for some forty disciplines.

The relative newcomers among disciplines in which there is a women's event include the kayak, premiered in 1948, equestrianism (1952) and volleyball (1964).

Winter sports for women were first introduced in 1936 and have since been joined by long-distance skiing (1952) and the toboggan (1964).

In 1976 at Montreal the first women's competitions will be held in handball, basketball and rowing.

Women now enter for the 1,500 metres and are well on their way to gaining acceptance in the 3,000 metres too. Maybe we will yet live to see the day when a women's marathon is held.

The indications certainly are that women and men will be equally represented in a fair number of disciplines before long. This country's swimming team at Munich consisted, when all is said and done, of 28 men and 23 women.

Since 1970 women have come into their own in one popular sport with a vengeance. Already there are 100,000 women footballers registered as members of clubs affiliated to the FA and the Sports League.

The AGM of the Football Association decided to "legalise" women's football (with certain restrictions) two years ago.

Another factor that is growing increasingly apparent is that female competitors are becoming steadily younger, though the "oldies" still stand a chance.

The older women shine in fencing, archery and equestrianism – all being disciplines in which age can be an advantage rather than a handicap.

At Helsinki in 1972 the average age of women gymnasts was 27. Today's top-flight youngsters are ten years younger. By starting at an early age they can derive the utmost benefit from the various stages of physical development.

In this context Dr Bausenwein appealed to parents to ensure that their offspring took medicals and remained under continued medical surveillance.

All things considered, standards have improved among both men and women. In comparable disciplines the increase has been somewhat greater among women than among men, though.

Even so, women will never be able to fully equal men's performances. Train as they may, they cannot offset physical differences.

This is not true of disciplines calling primarily for skill, adaptability and powers of reaction, however. In dressage, for instance, women can quite well equal and even outdo men.

In proportion as women grow more ambitious to improve their performances, so the temptation to overstep the mark and resort to drugs of one kind and another increases.

The women's subcommittee of the Sports Medical Council dealt at length with doping and with the "unfair" competition transsexual athletes represented.

The borderline between male and female not being quite as self-evident as the layman might imagine, the committee advocated sex checks at an early age in order to spare athletes disappointment and psychic upsets at a later date.

Trainers and coaches should accordingly be supplied with adequate information about the problem of transsexuality.

Kristel Struck-Paun
(Die Welt, 10 May 1973)